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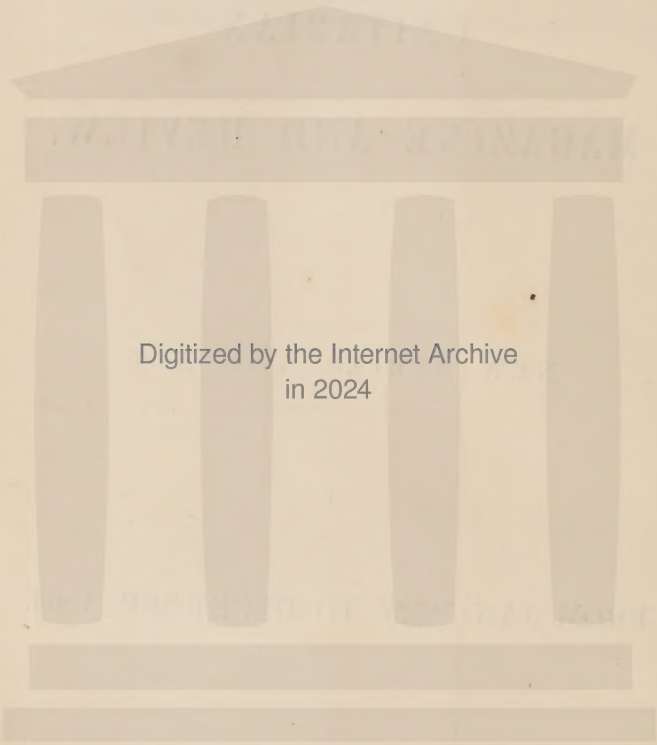

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THE

# CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

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## MERIVALE'S HISTORY OF THE ROMANS.*

Those who have accompanied Mr. Merivale through the preceding volumes of his History will regret to find from the announcement of his Preface, that he has been compelled to leave his original plan incomplete. It was his design and hope to have carried it on to the establishment of Christianity under Constantine, but he has been unable to proceed beyond the age of the Antonines. He has thus indeed reached the point at which Gibbon professes to begin; but attaching more importance to the history of manners and ideas than of political events and changes, it is natural that he should regret his inability to extend his picture of the Roman world, so as to include the last days of Paganism.

We have already (Vol. XIII. pp. 1—17) expressed our opinion of the general character of Mr. Merivale's History. The present volume shews marks, we think, of haste to reach the goal and the weariness of long protracted labour, but its spirit is essentially the same. It is remarkable that so many of our recent histories have been written with the purpose of reversing the verdicts of popular opinion. Mr. Carlyle, having rescued the character of Cromwell, is now engaged in proving that Frederic the Great has been much injured by historians, and that he was not more ambitious or more faithless to treaties than a sovereign has a right to be, who feels himself strong enough to break them with impunity and finds his advantage in so doing. And Mr. Merivale extenuates to the uttermost the crimes of the Cæsars, while of necessity he depreciates the authority and questions the motives of those by whom their history has been transmitted to us. If this is less conspicuous than in his previous volumes, it is because Domitian is the only one of the emperors of this period whose character needed an apology.

In our notice of the preceding volumes we took occasion to observe, that Mr. Merivale had treated Tacitus unfairly, in insinuating that he had been induced to give an unfavourable character of the earlier Cæsars, in order to enhance the glory of his favourite Trajan, while he deferred to the age of Trajan the

* History of the Romans under the Empire. By Charles Merivale, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. VII. 1862.



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proof that the judgment of the historian had been influenced by this unworthy motive. We looked therefore to this volume for the facts which were to justify his degradation from the office of the most dignified of moral teachers to the rank of court flatterers and interested panegyrists. But we have looked for these proofs in vain. We find abundance of insinuations, but not a single fact. One change indeed we notice—that in this volume the malice of Tacitus is generally imputed to the jealousy which the senatorial order and aristocratic families felt towards the emperors, whose power had put down their own. That this jealousy, latent or active, should exist between two orders standing in such a relation to each other, is perfectly natural; but that the historian was led by it to blacken the character of Tiberius, Caligula and Domitian, and give scanty and unwilling praise to Vespasian, is a proposition unsupported by evidence, and which should not have been put forward on conjecture. Many passages shew the *animus* with which our author regards Tacitus. Speaking of the institution of salaried teachers of grammar and rhetoric by Vespasian, which he attributes to a desire "to restore the tone of society and to infuse into the national mind healthier sentiments and aspirations in harmony with its sobered view of material enjoyments," he adds (p. 29),

"At the same time the emperor was not blind to the importance of attaching the Roman youth to his government, and gaining the direction of their minds. Hence, perhaps, the jealousy and aversion with which the new mode of public instruction was regarded by such a writer as Tacitus, the depositary of pre-imperial traditions. It was not the publicity of education itself, but the influence assumed over it by government, that really excited the odium of the old aristocracy. They felt, too, that the professors, the men of phrases and arguments, would soon work their way into the place of governors and magistrates, and supplant the proud but ignorant magnates in their immemorial privileges."

Not a single reference accompanies this passage, and it appears to us to be a tissue of assumptions without proof. In the absence of proof, we must be allowed to doubt whether the rough, unlettered soldier, Vespasian, had so far anticipated the modern art of government, as to seek the control of education, in order to train the rising generation in habits of submission. Again, we have to ask for the proof that Tacitus, as the depositary of pre-imperial tradition, looked with jealousy and aversion on the patronage of learning by Vespasian. The only passage which occurs to us, as affording any colour for this imputation, is in the Dialogue De Oratoribus, which we need not tell our readers is of doubtful authorship. In the 9th chapter, one of the interlocutors, exalting the profession of the orator above that of the poet, says, "Laudavimus nuper, ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulcrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen

pulcrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum ingenium propitiari, suam experiri liberalitatem?" What is there in this but the expression of the natural feeling of every high-minded man, that a livelihood gained by your own exertions is preferable to riches bestowed by a sovereign as the reward of literary merit? It has required the genius and the character of our present laureate to redeem the office of a salaried poet from suspicion. If this is the only passage on which Mr. Merivale relies in proof of his charge against Tacitus, it is slight indeed; and as the old aristocracy are included in the same indictment with him, and no separate evidence is adduced against them, we may pronounce their accusation also to be groundless.

Tacitus is further charged by Mr. Merivale with injustice towards Vespasian:

"Tacitus characterizes Vespasian coldly and harshly, 'prorsus si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par.' Hist., II. 5. We have seen how necessary even parsimony might be to his position, and how ably he redeemed it by justice and moderation. The same writer also speaks of him as the only emperor" (solus *ante se* principum, are the words of Tacitus) "whose character was improved by the possession of power; which seems to be a sneer against his forced submission to Nero's tyranny. But I must again repeat that Tacitus too often makes himself the mouthpiece of senatorial prejudice."—P. 44, note 3.

Tacitus charges Vespasian with *avarice;* Mr. Merivale defends his *parsimony*. That the former charge did not proceed from the historian's senatorial prejudice is evident from Suetonius, who says (c. 16) that Vespasian "negotiationes, vel privato pudendas, propalam exercuit, coemendo quædam, tantum ut pluris postea distraheret." The remark that he was the only emperor up to his time who had improved after coming to the empire, is the simple truth of history. The fatuity of Claudius excludes him from the test, but in Tiberius, Caligula and Nero, the evil of absolute power manifested itself in a great deterioration of character. The imputation of prejudice recoils upon its author, and we feel justified in dismissing the insinuations against Tacitus which are thickly strewed over Mr. Merivale's pages, as having no better foundation than those which we have examined. In every case they are advanced without proof. The judgments of Tacitus may seem severe, but in the times of which he wrote in his Annals and his Histories, vice was rampant and exalted virtue rare and discouraged. No wonder, therefore, if he seldom indulges in panegyric, and if the general character of his history is gloomy and depressing, or, to use Mr. Merivale's favourite word, *grim*. But that, either to exalt the character of Trajan, or to give secret vent to his aristocratic and senatorial prejudices, he has blackened the character of preceding emperors or exaggerated the evils of their times, is an unproved and, as we believe, an unfounded accusation.

The same bias towards imperialism, to which we owe the systematic depreciation of Tacitus, shews itself in another form in the context of the passage which we have quoted. Speaking of Vespasian's policy in attaching men of letters and philosophers to his government, Mr. Merivale says,

"The alliance was durable, but its effect was not immediately complete. Philosophy, during the last century, had been a school of political opposition; and though the common voice of the unlettered populace hailed the Flavian empire as a blessing, the men of ideas and theories refused, at least for one generation, to descend from the heights of their impracticable dogmatism, and acknowledge the sovereignty of a mild autocrat, as the sole refuge from anarchy and barbarism."

Considering that the next generation witnessed the reign of Domitian, we cannot much blame the philosophers, if they did not regard mildness and autocracy as inseparable companions. They might even be excused, if with such experience they cast back regretful looks on the times of the republic, and endeavoured to keep alive its traditions. It might be supposed, from Mr. Merivale's language, that the philosophers endangered the empire by plots and insurrections; but nothing of this kind appears. It could be only a morbid jealousy on the part of the ruler, like that which recently dictated in Paris the prohibition of William Tell, that brought Maternus under suspicion, for writing a drama on the subject of Cato of Utica. Mr. Merivale rivals the first and third Napoleon in his contempt for *idéologues*, "the men of ideas and theories." Such men may justly be blamed when they sacrifice, or tempt others to sacrifice, real to imaginary good. But the class of writers and thinkers who are thus sneeringly designated, are often the very men who, in an age when power is servilely worshiped, decline to do it homage, and keep alive the spirit of freedom. They are the wisest counsellors of the autocrats themselves, reminding them that there is a moral order, a retributive justice in the history of the world. Mr. Merivale speaks of the philosophers whom Vespasian *deported*, as encouraging, if not actually fostering, the conspiracies against him; but of this no proof is offered, even in the case of Helvidius Priscus, who was first exiled and then put to death. All that is alleged is that they criticized sharply the measures of the government. In the person of Vespasian the imperial office was hedged round with no fence of hereditary dignity, and the old republican freedom of speech was not yet extinct. The dialogue which Epictetus reports between him and Helvidius Priscus shews a bluntness on the part of the senator approaching to cynic rudeness; but he was only asserting his senatorial privileges. Vespasian, anticipating his opposition, had forbidden him to appear in the senate. Priscus replied, "You may deprive me of my office of senator, but till you do I will go to the senate-house." "You may go then, but be silent." "I will

be silent, if you will not call upon me to give my opinion." "But I must call upon you." "Then I must say what I think right." "But if you do, I will put you to death." The dialogue ends by Priscus bidding the emperor do his worst. This is certainly a specimen of "surly virtue," likely enough to provoke a man bred in camps and accustomed to the administration of martial law; it was imprudent to give him such provocation. The fact, however, remains that it was for no plot against Vespasian's life or government, but for a determination to exercise a constitutional privilege, that Helvidius was first exiled and soon after put to death. The vague expression of Dion, *συνίστη τινάς*, is not a sufficient ground for imputing to him a conspiracy in the absence of all definite charge, especially as Dion evidently writes with a strong prejudice against the philosophers, whom Tacitus more justly calls "sapientiæ professores."

In the reign of Domitian, the most interesting event to the English reader is the completion of the conquest of this island by Agricola, and the establishment in it of Roman civilization. He had served in Britain before, having been sent over to repress the turbulence of the 20th legion and infuse a wholesome severity into the administration, which under Vettius Bolanus had been carried on in a milder spirit than suited a province of so fierce a temper.* In his narrative of the events of Agricola's campaigns, Mr. Merivale differs from most of our historians.

* Mr. Merivale is often a loose translator. Tacitus remarks, Vit. Agr. c. 9, "Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat;" which is translated, "Many think that the military character lacks subtlety and tact. Camps are governed by strong will and prompt action, and give no play to the shrewdness which sways the forum." Here government is substituted for jurisdiction, and tact, which has much to do with government, but nothing with jurisdiction, is gratuitously inserted. *Securus* does not denote strong will, but the carelessness of an irresponsible jurisdiction; and "plura manu agens" conveys no idea of promptitude of action, but assigns a reason why military law is careless and unintelligent, namely, that it does its work chiefly by main force. Neither is it fair to Tacitus to represent him as using so inappropriate a word as *sways*, in describing the effect of shrewdness in the forum. Again, Pliny the younger, speaking of his own share in prosecuting a *delator*, says, it afforded him "materiam insectandi nocentes, miseros vindicandi, se proferendi," "a fine opportunity, so he himself proclaims, for attacking the guilty, for avenging the innocent, *for advancing oneself.*" Mr. Merivale might, if he pleased, sneer at Pliny by calling it *a fine* opportunity, but he had no right to give this as Pliny's thought, and *se proferre* is not to advance oneself, but to bring oneself into notice, a harmless, if not a laudable motive, when justice and humanity are at the same time to be vindicated. Cicero, Edmund Burke, Henry Brougham, might have acknowledged it without shame. Statius (iv. 3, 154), in his tumid strains had predicted Asiatic triumphs for Domitian: "Nunc magnos oriens dabit triumphos. Ibis quo vagus Hercules et Evan, Ultra sidera flammeumque solem." From our author's translation, "the sun and stars were left behind in the panting race," we know not what idea the English reader could gather, but that Domitian had lost breath in a race, in which he had beaten the sun and stars; whereas all that Statius meant to say was, that the emperor should carry his conquests in the East even beyond the region where the sun and stars appear to rise—an exaggeration of Virgil's "jacet extra sidera tellus, Extra anni solisque vias."

Adopting the reading of Tanaum for Taum æstuarium in ch. 22, he concludes that he did not cross the Frith of Forth till his fourth campaign, though what æstuary can be denoted by Tanaus it is difficult to imagine. Instead of the camp at Ardoch, which since General Roy published his investigations has been generally admitted as the scene of the battle with Galgacus, he refers it to some undefined spot in the neighbourhood of Brechin or Forfar; and he thinks that the fleet of Agricola, instead of circumnavigating Britain, only reached its most northern point, and then returned from Caithness to the Forth. The last is not a probable supposition, since Dion speaks decisively of a voyage round the island. The sentiments of Tacitus can never be misunderstood, but his descriptions are often vague, and from their conciseness obscure. Mr. Merivale thinks, too, that in recalling Agricola, Domitian did not act from the jealousy of Agricola's influence, and mortification at real victories which disgraced his own mock triumphs, but from a wise policy. Agricola had enjoyed an unusually long command, the war was costly, and Caledonia not worth the blood and treasure that would be required for its conquest. In other respects he differs from our antiquaries, who have debated whether Hadrian or Severus built the wall that joins the Solway and the Tyne, and of late years have mostly decided for the former. Mr. Merivale refers it to the age of Theodosius and Stilicho. The learned archæologists of Newcastle will no doubt give all due attention to this bold attack on their traditions.

With all his disposition to be the advocate and apologist of imperialism, Mr. Merivale seems on the point of throwing up his brief, when he comes to speak of the latter years of Domitian. Yet he makes a last effort in his cause. He says (p. 120),

"There is none of the Cæsars, except perhaps Caius (Caligula), against whom the evidence of history is so uniform and consistent as the younger Flavius. There may have been a conspiracy out of court; the witnesses may have been tampered with by senatorial agency. No doubt it is the duty of the judge to lean against the weight of testimony so suspiciously harmonious. But as long as he can detect no flaw in the chain of evidence, he must leave the case, with only an admonitory caution, to the decision of the jury, represented by the judgment and conscience of succeeding generations. I would content myself with recommending all the consideration that can fairly be allowed for the frightful temptations of the situation."

To this plea of extenuating circumstances we have nothing to object; it assumes criminality to be proved; it involves a condemnation of the system which furnishes frightful temptations to crime; but in the former part of the quotation Mr. Merivale confounds the practice of the bar with the duty of the bench. It is the advocate, and not the most scrupulous man of the pro-

fession, who, in default of evidence to disprove the charge against his client, suggests that there has been a conspiracy out of court, and that the witnesses have been tampered with. The judge would undoubtedly tell the jury, that they were to dismiss from their minds the ingenious arguments of the prisoner's counsel, and return a verdict according to the evidence. Elsewhere (p. 190), having repeated the assertion that the nobles had poisoned the sources of history at Rome, and the philosophers had spread their bitter feelings against him far and wide throughout the empire, he observes how small a chance a prince in modern times would have of obtaining a hearing from posterity, who had given mortal offence both to his nobility and clergy. He must have felt himself hard pressed for an exculpatory plea, when he was driven to give such a character of aristocratic and clerical historians.

We trust that we shall not be thought to dwell invidiously on what we consider as a great blemish in Mr. Merivale's work. The learning and ability which it displays, the character and academical connections of the author, the absence of any readable history of the period which it embraces, will secure it a wide circulation. It will become for a time the source whence the rising generation will derive their conceptions of imperialism; examination questions will be framed upon it; openly or clandestinely it will be abridged and find its way into schools. It falls in with the humour of the time, which is disposed to depreciate political liberty, and acquiesce in its suppression for the sake of quiet and material prosperity. Such a doctrine we believe to be both unsound and pernicious, and therefore we have felt bound to point out the groundless assumptions on which it rests. We turn to a more pleasing office, in quoting a passage not coloured by his political views. Speaking of that new school which under the Flavian emperors succeeded the literature of the Augustan age, he says,

"Another star in the Flavian constellation, another product of the same æra is the brilliant poet Statius. The Academic literature of Rome was a refined adaptation of the style first created at Alexandria by the lecturers of the Museum, under the sunshine of court patronage. Antimachus, whose poem on the war of Thebes is said to have been the model of the epic of Statius, was a forerunner of the Alexandrian school, but in taking him for his guide this ancient accomplished Roman allowed himself some licence and studied superior refinement. The chief points indeed of incident and character in a theme so trite had become arbitrarily fixed, and the Flavian critics would hardly suffer a new competitor for the prize of excellence to depart widely from his formula. As regards his subject, Statius walks in fetters; he could not create or innovate. Nevertheless there is perhaps no ancient epic so perfect in form and argument as the Thebaid. Its story is the most compact of all; its incidents and characters, however palely delineated, are not less varied in proportion to its length than those of the Iliad. But the

versifier of a cultivated age and refined society cannot impart a sustained and lofty interest to a story purely mythological, and the contemporaries of Statius felt, we may believe, as much as modern readers, that it was not for the story that his poem was to be studied. Statius is a miniature painter, employed by the freak of a patron, or from a peculiar misapprehension of his own powers, on the production of a great historical picture. Every part, every line, every shade is touched and retouched; approach the canvas and examine it with glasses, every thread and hair has evidently received the utmost care and taken the last polish: but step backwards, and embrace the whole composition in one gaze, and the general effect is confused from want of breadth and largeness of treatment.

"The Thebaid was recited, we may believe, in portions to connoisseurs and critics, and the author was misled by the applause which was naturally excited by the exquisite finish of successive periods. A genteel mob assembled on the day of each promised performance, and the youth of Italy carried off the fragments in their memory and repeated them to the admiring circles of their acquaintance. Assuredly their judgment would have been modified, had they staid to view the composition in its full proportions, and the author himself would have done more justice to his powers, could he have renounced the insidious flatteries of his age, and written in patience and solitude for immortality."—P. 283 seq.

It would have been interesting and instructive if Mr. Merivale had dwelt a little more fully on these fashionable recitations, in allusions to which Pliny's Epistles abound. They are characteristic of an age in which imperial rule had made frivolous amusement a necessity of life to the wealthy and refined classes, by rendering the manlier culture of the intellect dangerous to its possessor; and by tempting an author to write for speedy applause, they produced the same effect which serial writing and high copy-money are producing on our own literature.

In the following passage our author contrasts Tacitus with Livy, and compares him with Lucan, still not forgetting his purpose of depreciating the historian of the empire.

"Livy, the great historian of the Augustan age, writes with a strong and vivid perception of the scenes and incidents which he describes. The men whose portraits decorate the long galleries through which he roams, have a distinct form and character in his mind, and he paints truly from the lineaments before him. But Livy's was not an age of speculation. He had no doctrine in history or politics, beyond a vague conviction of the greatness and invincibility of Rome, and an assurance of her triumphal destiny.* Very different is the case with Livy's great rival, Tacitus. The subtler genius of the later period is reflected on the pages of this philosophic theorist, who constructs the history of the empire with reference to a dominant idea in his own mind. The object of Tacitus, conceived in the patrician school to which he had attached

* It must be observed, however, that Livy, like all the best men of the age, was a Pompeian, that is one of the same senatorial party as Tacitus.

himself, was to shew, that the supremacy of Rome, the final cause of her existence, depends on the pre-eminence of an oligarchy with which all her glories and successes are closely entwined. He regards the downfal of this caste under the Cæsarean usurpation, as the fruitful source of the degradations and miseries by which her later career has been sullied. The empire has been disgraced by tyranny, by profligacy and base compliances at home, by defeats and humiliations abroad. The free spirit of the Optimate has been repressed, and he has been constrained to cringe and flatter not patricians only of equal nobility with himself, but the meaner offspring of the lesser houses; not new men only and unennobled Romans, but even upstart foreigners and enfranchised bondmen. Great national disasters have indicated, in rapid succession, the disgust of the gods at the degeneracy of their chosen favourites, at the contempt into which their own altars have fallen, and the blasphemy by which divine honours have been extended to the vilest of mortals. The spirit and idea of Tacitus's history is closely represented in the kindred epic of Lucan, which only expresses more bluntly, and without even the pretence of historic impartiality, as was natural in a youth and a poet, the feeling of indignant dissatisfaction common to both. But Tacitus, mature in years and cool in temper, used more discretion in the handling of his theory than the reckless declaimer of five-and-twenty."

We leave the reader to judge of this passage, with only the remark, that it contains not a single reference to the writings of Tacitus.

This period of history comprehends the modification of Judaism, subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the gradual growth of Christianity, with its alternations of rest and persecution, according to the temper of successive emperors. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the Jews than the faculty which they have shewn, from the days of Daniel and Esther downwards, of gaining influence in the midst of national oppression. Titus had destroyed the Jewish capitol, and slaughtered myriads of the Jewish people, yet Berenice, a Jewess, had such a hold on his affections, that only deference to Roman feeling prevailed on him to renounce the intention of raising her to an imperial throne. The satirist might paint the Jew as a hawker of small wares (Juvenal, vi. 541) and a beguiler of silly women by the arts of the fortune-teller; but his influence was deep and extensive throughout the Roman world. Seneca describes it in language almost verbally identical with that which Horace uses of the conquered Greeks: "victi victoribus leges dederunt."* It was either a whim of Domitian to set himself up for a religious reformer, or the natural aversion of a tyrant to any form of dissent, which led him to persecute and banish many eminent persons on the charge of impiety and Judaism,—Christianity being probably confounded with its doctrines and involved in its punishment. No doubt, while weak minds were captivated by

* Aug. de Civ. Dei, vi. 11, quoted by Mr. Merivale, p. 148.

the arts of the interpreter of dreams, those of a higher order were drawn towards the spiritual doctrines common to both religions, by disgust at the gross anthropomorphism in which Pagan mythology had ended. But though reduced for a time thus to work in secret, the Jew had never renounced the hope that his nation was to produce a deliverer and a conqueror. Can we wonder at this? The belief was prevalent in the East, that from that quarter a master of the world was to arise; and what people were better authorized to appropriate this anticipation, than they whose prophets had foretold in the most precise language, that Zion should be the centre of a world-wide dominion?—language which would never have been interpreted otherwise than in a secular sense, except by critics embarrassed by its non-fulfilment. True, their holy city lay in ruins, but so it had done before, and yet the chosen people had returned to occupy it. The abomination of desolation had stood in the holy place, but Jewish heroes had avenged the insult, and the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was evidently a judgment from Jehovah. Had not they also renounced the idolatry which had brought upon them their humiliation and suffering in older times? The Jews have received hard measure from historians. While we are taught sympathy with other nations in their struggle for independence, however hopeless, they not only obtain none, but are branded with opprobrious names and held up to detestation.* We know not on what historical authority Mr. Merivale thus describes that portion of the Jewish people which still adhered to the hope of a secular Messiah:

"The sound in heart among the Jews were no doubt now rapidly absorbed into the gathering mass of Christian belief. The perpetuation of the national ideas was abandoned to the dregs and offscourings of the people, by whom they were thus travestied and degraded. The race which could feed to satiety on the gross fancies of the Talmud, after banqueting so long on the sublime inspiration of the Old Testament, deserved the long eclipse of reason and imagination which was about to envelope it."—P. 355.

The purpose of the author is rendered obscure, as is frequently the case, by the desire to give force and elevation to the style. If, however, he means to say, that the race which rose in insurrection against Trajan and Hadrian had fed on the fancies of the Talmud, this is an anachronism; even the Mischna had then no existence; if they had not so fed, how can their character be inferred from their preference of it to the Old Testament? Mr. Merivale supposes that the destruction of Antioch by an earthquake in A.D. 115, excited the hopes of the Jews; however this might be, a furious insurrection broke out, in Egypt, Cyrene

* The Dean of St. Paul's must be exempted from this censure. He observes, "The Spanish guerillas who were called patriots in London were brigands in Paris."

and Cyprus, attended with the commission of such cruelties on their oppressors, as might be expected from a people so provoked, so fierce and so proud. The revolt was suppressed with a fearful slaughter; but in conjunction with the other troubles of the East, it appears to have shortened the life of Trajan. Yet the spirit of the Jews was by no means broken, and under Hadrian they tried one venture more for the recovery of the land which they believed that God had given in perpetuity to their fathers. They more than once defeated the imperial troops; but numbers and military tactics triumphed over their desperate courage. Their leader Barecohebas was slain; their rabbis put to death by cruel torments,—Akiba, the most eminent of them, dying with the exclamation on his lips, "God is One." The colony of Ælia Capitolina was established on the ruins of the holy city, recording at once the victory of Hadrian over the rebels, and of the Capitoline Jupiter over the One God. As the Jews were forbidden to inhabit the new colony, while the Christians were allowed to settle there, the two sects, it is evident, were by this time clearly distinguished in the mind of the Romans.

A very valuable part of Mr. Merivale's work is the 67th chapter, in which he reviews the political elements of Roman society in the period of the Antonines. He has been preceded in the second chapter of the Decline and Fall, but not forestalled; for a clearer light has been thrown since Gibbon's time, chiefly by the researches of German scholars, on the population, the commerce, the political arrangements of the Roman empire. The 68th chapter also contains a clear view of the causes which, even while it seemed prosperous and happy under the mild government of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, were preparing its dismemberment and fall, among which the prevalence of slavery holds a prominent place, as tending to foster in the minds of their masters sentiments inconsistent with a moderate and rational political freedom. We conclude our extracts with a passage in which the author describes the feelings with which both Heathen philosophy, as represented by Marcus Aurelius, and Christian faith, regarded this downward tendency of human affairs.

"Let us remember, in justice to this paragon of Heathen excellence, that Aurelius represents the decrepitude of his æra. He is hopeless because the age is hopeless. The Heathen world looked for no renovation of a society which was visibly perishing before its eyes. The idea of a constant advance of mankind towards perfection had never formed an element in its aspirations, and now when the popular notion of its degeneration was actually realized, it accepted its apparent destiny without a murmur. Even the Christians could with difficulty surmount these desponding anticipations. To them also the decline of society was fully manifest, nor did they regard the diffusion of religious truth as a means of restoration. They expected no general revival of society through the purer morality of the Gospel. For such progress and such

result no time, as they anticipated, would be allowed; for the end of the world appeared to be at hand; the outward frame of law and order was only upheld, in their view, by the continued existence of the empire: it could not long endure, and on its fall would follow the dissolution of creation, the conflagration of the universe, the end of all things. To Justin and Tertullian, to Origen and Arnobius, a revelation of the impending establishment of Christianity would have seemed as strange and incredible as to Aurelius himself."—P. 620.

It is natural that Mr. Merivale should regret the premature termination of his labours. Yet as Tacitus reckoned Agricola to have been "felix opportunitate mortis" because he had escaped by a premature death the sight of the worst crimes of Domitian, so the historian may console himself that he shall not have to describe the cruelties of Commodus, the distractions of the Thirty Tyrants, the division of the empire, the crimes of Constantine and his rivals. Judging, too, from some passages in this volume, we may doubt whether he would have held the balance with perfect impartiality, in a period which offers so many temptations for one pledged to a theological system to betray the influence of his own prepossessions.

K.

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## SURINGAR.

The field of biography is more crowded with annals of the wise than with records of the good. And the reason is obvious; for wisdom is nothing until it is known and recognized and finds an utterance; but goodness may be hidden and silent; "it marks no marble with its name." Philosophy, while it deals with matter, revolutionizes mind; its radiant course is like the pathway of a comet; it fills the world with light; it is the proclaimer of its own discoveries; it overturns the temples of error as does a mighty wind or sudden earthquake the edifices built on sandy foundations.

Benevolence is seldom demonstrative, never intrusive. It speaks in works, not words. Its aphorisms are acts. It is to be studied less in reasonings than in results.

There lives in Holland a man—his name is William H. Suringar—whose life has been a long record of virtuous exertion. He is known to his countrymen, and to many beyond his country, as the Philanthropist. To the reform of the criminal, to the education of the poor, to the removal of evil, to the extension of good, all his days have been devoted. On his 70th birthday his friends in Amsterdam prepared a festival in his honour (August 3, 1860). A medal, with his portrait and a flattering inscription, was struck, presented to him in gold, in silver to his more intimate friends, while for wider distribution a number was provided in bronze. He took the opportunity of conveying to the depu-

tation that waited upon him some of the results of his experience; and as the manuscript of the proceedings of the day has fallen into our hands, we have thought portions of it well worth translating and communicating to our readers.

"Attention," he says, "has been directed to a book published in Hull, entitled 'Fruits and Results of a Life of Sixty Years.' I have lived threescore years and ten, and have seen many and strange vicissitudes. These are some of my conclusions.

"Mine is a confident hope, an unshaken faith, that man is moving forwards, sometimes slowly, sometimes not visibly, sometimes even there are backward steps. In retrograding there is always danger. Let 'Forwards!' be ever in our eye and in our heart. The very thought has brave action in it.

"But hope and action must be influenced by the spirit of love. Love is the true life of man. Life lives on love. To love and to be loved is better than fame. Love dieth not.

"Love is not a dream, an unfruitful theory. A hundred beautiful thoughts or proverbs in laud of love are not worth one loving deed. Love dwells in acts, not words. It is positive and practical.

"To be practical, it must possess knowledge and power. The Bible has a grand word, '*one thing*;' and thus paraphrases the poet Weiss:

> "One man cannot *all* things do;
> *Some*thing each man may pursue;
> Striving to do *all* is vain;
> *Nought* to do is worse again.
>
> Ever keep *one* end in view,
> Ever to that end be true;
> For that *one* untired to strive,
> For that *one* resolved to live.
>
> For if each would *one* thing do,
> Never wearied, ever true,
> Each one *one* thing grasping fast,
> *All* would be outwrought at last.

"And what is that *one* object to which each man should specially dedicate himself? This he must discover by studying what he *is* and what he *can* be. To struggle after that which is unattainable, to make efforts beyond our strength, is but to waste existence. To some, no doubt, it is given to theorize; this is the mission of the few; it is for the many to be 'up and doing,' doing all they *can* do. Some lose themselves in inquiring, not what they should do, but what their forefathers did. Such inquiries will not alter the past, nor will they always benefit the present or the future. Nothing is valuable but what gives an impulse towards *betterment*. 'An exterminating war against selfishness, against the forgetfulness of social duty, belongs to whatever is great and good' (I. van Muller). To keep one fixed object constantly in view will not release us from the many claims of human brotherhood. Our years decline, our hair whitens, our philanthropy must not decay. With life the duties of life are associated. Life's primary duty is labour, labour in the field where our lot is fallen; and the most fruitful of labour is the training of the children-world, the education of youth. Wisely did

Macaulay speak—'For every pound sterling you spare in the instruction of children, you will have to pay five for the punishment of criminals.'

"In the long roll of vanished years
That *were* a life, that *are* a dream,
Some little twinkling star appears,
A *good deed's* unextinguished gleam;
It shines with never-dying light,
Bright as th' eternal day is bright.

Towards it I turn my eager eye—
It looks like heaven—it is of heaven;
It seems to smile in sympathy
With upward hopes, with sins forgiven;
And while I gaze my spirit springs
Heavenward on faith's divinest wings.

"The best passport to heaven is childlike innocency. No one can properly instruct a child without being and becoming himself instructed. Teaching and learning give to each other mutual aid. The teacher should be taught by the learner as much as the learner by the teacher. The work of education must ever progress. It begins in the birth, it only ends in the grave; and not even there, for the grave is a great monitor. But after all, the grandest schoolmaster is God. His lessons are the outpourings of good, his discipline the rod of affliction. And that discipline is the most salutary of divine influences. Under the Divine guidance, bleak and stormy days bring on a sweet and soothing sunshine. While the sky is clearing around, beware that there be no darkness, no tempest within. Though the most glowing sunshine cannot enlighten the blind, the winter blasts of adversity may awaken many virtues and bid them bloom.

"Confidence in God! comfort in man! What fruitful sources of happiness! You and I have lived, loved, laboured together; together have we worked and worshiped. Our strifes have not been against one another, but with one another, leagued against ignorance, against injustice. In the sanctuaries of God, in the halls of commerce, in the seats of legislation, our end and object have been *one—Progress*—progress in the path of excellence. Our spheres are different; but every sphere may be made co-operant with the rest. Our virtuous hopes cannot expect full fruition, for the desires of virtue are limitless, and even in doing our best we shall not do all we might; but the knowledge of our weakness is the first step to the replenishing of our strength. Faultless we cannot be; but to desire, to determine to avoid every fault, will bring us nearest to perfection.

"There is an old maxim, *Faire—Faire*. But a good man's deeds speak for him; he leaves his impress on the sands of time. An eloquent *circumspice* accompanies his silent footsteps. Noise and ostentation go not with humble duty or true devotion. *Pii orant tacitè*. 'His life was a thanksgiving to the Power that made him—it was blessedness and love,' is one of the most beautiful eulogiums ever uttered on a human being. There is something very grand in that description of the heavenly future found in the Apocalypse—'There shall be no sun,' for all will be light; 'no temple,' for everywhere there will be worship."

There is addressed to Suringar a very amusing Dutch poem,

one of whose great merits is its happy but untranslatable versification. Let a stanza or two be attempted.

"Find me the man
Proclaim who can
Like him the truth that 'Strife makes strong.'
He battled for the poor, the weak;
And who was mightier than the meek?
Who fought so well, endured so long?

This is the man
Who proudly can
Of conquests boast, of holy war;
Living and labouring not for bays,
But blessings; they are his—all praise,
All honour be to *Suringar*."

The writer has had the privilege for forty years of enjoying the friendship and partaking the hospitalities of the *good man*, hospitalities which were renewed on a late occasion. To literature, to liberty, to improved prison discipline, to popular education, to the spread of knowledge by teaching and by tracts, the energies of manhood were devoted, and he reaps the harvests of his earlier exertions in his declining years. His house is crowded with testimonials from the mightiest to the meanest, from monarchs and mendicants, shewing how much can be *done* by those who are bent upon *doing*. In the church and the college, in the senate and the street, it was pleasant to see old age accompanied by

"Honour, love, obedience, troops of friends."

What an encouragement to "go and do likewise"!

B.

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## A MECHANICAL AND UNSPIRITUAL RELIGION.

Religion in most countries, more or less in every country, is no longer what it was, and should be,—a thousand-voiced psalm from the heart of Man to his invisible Father, the fountain of all Goodness, Beauty, Truth, and revealed in every revelation of these; but, for the most part, a wise prudential feeling grounded on mere calculation; a matter, as all others now are, of Expediency and Utility; whereby some smaller quantum of earthly enjoyment may be exchanged for a far larger quantum of celestial enjoyment. Thus Religion too is Profit, a working for wages; not Reverence, but vulgar Hope or Fear. Many we know, very many, we hope, are still religious in a far different sense; were it not so, our case were too desperate.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

## BISHOP COLENSO AND THE GENTILES.*

When endeavouring, in our last No., to look at the gospel from St. Paul's point of view, and to estimate his special work and qualifications as pre-eminently *the Apostle of the Gentiles*, we concluded that it was (humanly) owing to his Gentile culture as the native of a Greek city (though of Jewish family himself) and as a citizen of Rome, the world's capital, that the religion of Jesus Christ ceased under his administration to be regarded as a mere variety of Judaism, or as interesting the Jewish nation alone or chiefly. His Jewish prejudices being once surmounted by the compelling miracle, his Gentile culture thenceforth gained the full ascendant in his large and liberal mind, and he saw the gospel, as he saw the world, in its *human* instead of its Jewish point of view. While those who preached the gospel chiefly to the Jews naturally made Jerusalem still the centre of their activity as of their affections, Paul's missionary centre was Antioch, that Eastern Rome, the great world's epitome of civilized thought, needs and aspirations, where the gospel itself took its world-wide name of *Christianity*. From that time forth Judaism could not monopolize it; nor the great Gentile world refuse to care about it as a mere Jewish controversy.

We thus see how revealed truth itself requires to be looked at from a world-wide point of view, in order to be really true. Judaism as viewed by the Jews was made a local and national monopoly of divine truth and divine favour. But as seen from Antioch, from Rome, or from England now, especially in the longer retrospect of history, it has evidently been the depository of religious truth and blessing for the world.

And even Christianity itself is in danger of being narrowed into a local or partial thing, a kind of spiritual monopoly ill at harmony with the operations of a world-wide providence, a religious dogmatism irreconcilable with the philosophy of the universe, unless we insist upon looking at it as Paul did from a *Gentile, or properly human, point of view*. It may be, and indeed usually is, so represented as to seem a charter of exclusive benefit for those comparatively few of God's children who hold it in the precise form laid down by the exclusive creed; while, to those who, with larger knowledge and truer hearts, look round upon the teeming populations of the earth and really believe that the same God hath made all the nations of men, so varied in faculty,

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* The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a Missionary Point of View. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. 1861.

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the Proper Treatment of Polygamist Converts from Heathenism. By the Same. March, 1861.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined (Part I.). By the Same. 1862.

power and opportunity of knowing and serving their Maker, the gospel as popularly represented becomes simply incredible so long as they retain their genuine belief in one Almighty and Paternal God.

The gospel when so presented to the poor heathens themselves is too narrow for their acceptance. Their unsophisticated minds and hearts reject it, when they unconsciously apply Christ's own test, "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" A heathen child, when brought to believe the gospel, and to think that those who die without believing it are everlastingly lost, asked with great earnestness, Why did you not come and tell us before? My father died, and my mother died, and my brother died without the gospel. Wiping her tears, she asks the missionary, Where do you think they are gone? He too weeps as a man, but replies as an orthodox missionary speaking inhumanly for God, Where do *you* think they are gone? She hesitates, and then with great emotion replies, I suppose they are gone down to the dark place, the dark place! Oh why did they not tell us before? why did they not tell us before?

That was a sensitive heathen child.* A fine heroic heathen man asks the missionary who has expounded to him the same narrow orthodox creed: Where then do you think my father is, and my mother, and my dead child, and all the ancestors of my tribe? And receiving for answer, In the dark place (or, in the fiery place), he retorts, Then I wish to go wherever they are. I will not go to your heaven.

In these and similar ways the Gentile sometimes teaches the missionary. The Zulus of Natal have given the earnest-hearted Bishop Colenso, who has laboured nine years among them with true zeal and devotedness, a breadth and comprehensiveness of religious philosophy which his University and Church had omitted to impart. About a year and half ago he published his volume on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "explained from a missionary point of view,"—from the point of view, that is, which human nature demanded; the point of view taken by natural reason and natural conscience. The good Bishop found himself face to face with the natural or native man, who had no other test of theology or ethics than the light of reason and conscience in his own mind and heart. It is truly interesting and delightful to see how, from his "missionary point of view," all the exclusiveness of the common doctrines respecting the impotence and utter depravity of man by nature, the insalvability of the heathen, justification by technical belief, and eternal torments, has utterly vanished, and the gospel in his hands among the Zulu Hottentots is (as it was in the hands of Paul among the idolaters of Lystra) the bond of union and blessing for all mankind, instead of the

* See Colenso's Romans for this anecdote, p. 211.

charter of exclusive safety for a few. Several of these large-hearted heresies appear in his observations on Rom. viii. 19—23. "The earnest longing of the creature *(creation*, rather) is expecting the revelation of the sons of God," &c.

"From these passages it appears plain that the expression is used for 'mankind,' the 'whole human race,' 'humanity,' with especial reference to the great mass of it, lying still in an unenlightened and degraded state, but not excluding the few to whom the message of life had already come."

"Thus, then, St. Paul here says: 'The earnest longing of humanity is waiting for that day, when the sons of God—the true-hearted and faithful of every age and clime,—those, who, with the light they had, whether with the starlight of nature only, or with the brighter light, as of a clouded noon, vouchsafed to the Jew, or under the full clear shining of the Sun of Righteousness, have, imperfectly, indeed, at the best, in every case, because of the weakness of the flesh, yet with sincerity and singleness of heart and purpose, each according to his gift, 'persevered in well-doing,'—when these 'shall be revealed,' shall be disclosed to the eyes of all, shall be crowned with 'glory, honour, and immortality,' and be called to 'enter into the joy of their Lord.' The whole of humanity is looking for this day, when every life of faithfulness on earth shall receive its reward, a reward not of debt, but of grace, —when wickedness shall cease to triumph, and lives of unrepented sin and wilful disobedience, of fraud, injustice, oppression, cruelty, impurity, shall have their just meed of retribution. St. Paul seems to hear the sighing of the human race for deliverance from the power of Sin and Death, the 'bondage of corruption,' under which they groan at present, not being as yet aware of the redemption, which has really been wrought for them, and shall in due time be made known to them.

"v. 20. *for the creature was subjected to wretchedness, not of its own accord, but by reason of Him who subjected it in hope.* The Greek word, here translated 'wretchedness,' admirably expresses the frailty and feebleness of our present mortal state, subject to pain and weakness, sorrow, suffering, and death,—that state, which our Lord took part in, and thereby became subject to suffering,—that state, in which we too must suffer with Him. Hence the connection with the words preceding. 'I say, the whole of humanity is looking for that hour; for now it is in a state of feebleness, beset with evil of every kind, physical and spiritual.'

"v. 20. *not of its own accord.* To this state of feebleness the human race was subjected, not of its own accord, of its own free choice, by any voluntary act of evil, like that of Adam's, but wholly without any blame attaching to men, for that state of vanity in which they find themselves. The Apostle utterly repudiates the notion, that any stain of *moral guilt* can attach to an innocent infant, for the corrupt taint in its nature, derived from its earthly parents. Nevertheless, the corruption, the seed of death, is there in its nature. It has been made subject to the 'ills that mortal flesh is heir to,' not by any act of its own, but by the will of God, its faithful Creator, its loving Friend and Father, who was pleased to 'subject it' to all this vanity 'in hope.' When He willed that the human race should be propagated from its first parents, He

willed, indeed, that it should be subject to frailty and to painful trial. But He willed also, in His Faithfulness and Love He willed, that it should be freed from any curse, for the sinful nature which it bore, and that it should have part in a blessed hope. He willed that His own dear Son should be its Head, and overcome Sin and Death on its behalf, and restore to the whole race infinitely more than ever Adam's sin had lost. The 'vanity,' to which we are now subject, we suffer as the *consequence* of sin, the sin which we inherit in our own nature, by our birth from the first Adam; but we do not suffer it as the *chastisement* of sin. All idea of chastisement, or curse, being laid upon us for Adam's sin, or the 'sin in our nature,' which we derive from him, through no fault of our own, is done away for every member of the race, by the fact that we have now another Head, the second Adam, in whom the Lord our God has loved and redeemed us. Hence, says the Apostle, we are subject to vanity, not willingly, by any act of our own, but by reason of Him, our Heavenly Father, who has been pleased so to subject us, but to subject us 'in hope.'

"v. 21. *that the creature also itself shall be set free from the bondage of corruption, into the freedom of the glory of the children of God.*

"I cannot shut my eyes to the truth, which these words appear so clearly to imply, that there is hope in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom and Love, for *all*, for all 'the creature,' for the whole human race, that fell in Adam, and has been graciously redeemed in Christ. The 'children of God,' the faithful and true of all ages, all lands, all religions, will be 'revealed,' will receive their 'glorious freedom' in the Kingdom of their Lord. While others, perhaps the great mass of human kind, who have been wilfully unfaithful, in greater or less degree, to the light vouchsafed to them, and are still willingly held in the bondage of corruption, though they might have asserted their freedom from it, and lived as good men and true, with the grace vouchsafed to them, will receive their righteous judgment unto condemnation,—'indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh out evil.' But this chastisement, after all, comes from a Father's Hand, upon those who may be wilful, prodigal, unruly, disobedient, but yet are creatures, whom He Himself has redeemed, for whom Christ died. Can we say, with these words of St. Paul before us, that such chastisement, however severe, may *not* be remedial, may not be intended to work out the 'hope,' under which the whole race has been 'subjected to vanity,' which 'hope,' in the Apostle's mind, is the justification of the Eternal Justice and Love in so subjecting it, when it had not deserved such a fate, nor brought it about 'of its own accord,' by any act of its own? Is there not ground, from this text, as well as others, for trusting that, in some way unknown to us, the whole race shall, indeed, be made to share this hope at last, and so be 'set free from the bondage of corruption, into the freedom of the glory of the children of God'?"—Pp. 193—196.

The Bishop goes on to say that he formerly thought differently, and had even objected to Mr. Maurice's doctrine on eternal punishment. His candid avowal that his belief "was no more than acquiescence, in common (as he imagines) with very many of his brother clergymen," while an honour to himself, is

surely the most pointed reproof of the university and ecclesiastical system of this country, which expects men, as matter of course, to be orthodox theologians by virtue of the Book of Common Prayer and the Act of Uniformity to which it is a schedule.

"I did believe in that dogma (the endlessness of future punishments) at the time I wrote and printed those Sermons, so far as that can be called belief, which, in fact, was no more than acquiescence, in common, I imagine, with very many of my brother clergy, in the ordinary statements on the subject, without having ever deeply studied the question, probably with a shrinking dread of examining it, and without having ever ventured formally to write or preach a Sermon upon the subject, and pursue it, in thought and word, to all its consequences. There are many, who, as I did myself in those days, would assert the dogma as a part of their 'Creed,' and now and then, in a single sentence of a Sermon, utter a few words in accordance with it, but who have never set themselves down to face the question, and deliver their own souls upon it to their flocks, fully and unreservedly. For my own part, I admit, I acquiesced in it, seeing *some* reasons for assuming it to be true, knowing that the mass of my clerical brethren assented to it with myself, and contenting myself with making some reference to it, now and then, in my ministrations, without caring to dwell deliberately upon it, and considering what might be urged against it.

"The controversy, which arose about Mr. Maurice's Essays, and my own little volume of Sermons, brought the whole subject closely before me. And for the last seven years I have carefully studied it, with an earnest desire to know the truth of God upon the matter, and with an humble prayer for the guidance and teaching of His Holy Spirit in the search for it. I now declare that I can no longer maintain, or give utterance to, the doctrine of the endlessness of 'future punishments,'—that I dare not dogmatise at all on the matter,—that I can only lay my hand upon my mouth, and leave it in the hands of the righteous and merciful Judge. But I see that the word 'eternal' does not mean 'endless.' And, for such reasons as the following, I entertain the 'hidden hope' that there are remedial processes, when this life is ended, of which at present we know nothing, but which the Lord, the Righteous Judge, will administer, as He in His Wisdom shall see to be good."—Pp. 197, 198.

Having quoted so much at large on these most interesting questions, we must simply allude to the various other human and humane heresies which peep out in the Epistle to the Romans as "explained from a missionary point of view."

*Justified* means "*made* just or righteous, dealt with as children." (P. 38.)

*Conscience* is permitted to remonstrate against the degrading doctrine of innate depravity and corruption: "For we must never forget that this witness within our hearts is the Voice of God." (P. 208.)

The Scripture doctrine that Christ died *on our behalf* is carefully distinguished from the modern doctrine that he died *in our*

*stead;* and the New Testament Greek is shewn to be excellent classical Greek in maintaining the distinction:

"Ch. v. 6. *on behalf of.* Once for all let it be stated distinctly, there is not a single passage in the whole of the New Testament, which supports the dogma of modern theology, that our Lord died for our sins, in the sense of dying *instead of* us, dying *in our place,* or dying so as to *bear the punishment* or *penalty* of our sins. It is often said that He died *for us,* He died *for our sins;* but the Greek preposition, here rendered by 'for,' *never,* in any single instance, means 'in our stead,' but 'on our behalf,' as in this passage. The distinction is well shewn in the following passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis,* vii. 9, 10. 'So Scuthes inquired, What, would you be willing, Episthenes, to die *(hyper) on behalf of* this youth?' And he, having stretched out his neck, said, 'Strike, if the youth bids it, and will feel obliged.' Seuthes went on to ask the youth, 'if he should strike him *(anti) instead of* him.'"—P. 115.

And with equal clearness the episcopal expositor tells his orthodox readers, what is no news to heterodox ones, that, according to Paul's doctrine, "man is reconciled to God, not God to man." (P. 118.)

There is another subject on which Dr. Colenso's work among the heathen has found rather than made him a genuine man. Missionaries among the Hottentots and other eastern populations have felt no little difficulty in deciding what to do in the case of polygamists becoming Christians and offering themselves for baptism. Strange to say, Christian missionaries have generally insisted that a convert so situated shall begin his Christian life by violating the family relationships and duties which he contracted in his heathen state. They have usually required him to put away all his wives but one. Some have insisted that he shall retain the one he first married (not unfrequently, according to Zulu customs, a deceased brother's widow); some have allowed him to choose from among them; some have insisted that he shall keep the most helpless. The rest and their families he must abandon to heathenism and poverty, tempted often to vice, and taught to hate the very name of Christianity. Bishop Colenso has too much of the native man in him (we would say the *natural* man, but for fear of exciting theological horror), he is too really rational and humane, he has too true and large ideas of God and man, to hesitate about the course which a Christian missionary should adopt with polygamist converts. Indeed, the wonder is that Christian missionaries in general should have felt themselves authorized to pronounce so dogmatically as they have done. Neither in the letter nor in the spirit of the New Testament is there the slightest warranty for such harshness of decision. *Letter,* indeed, the most devoted letter-worshiper cannot pretend to find applicable to the case. There is no recorded instance of any such convert coming under the notice of our Lord or his apostles. But that there must have been such

cases, both of Jewish and Heathen converts, is fairly to be inferred from the fact that polygamy was legal among the Jews (though not frequent), and that what has been well called *successive polygamy* was frequent under the Roman law, which gave such facility of divorce that a man might have several repudiated wives living at once. And that there were some polygamic cases in the Christian churches of Ephesus and Crete is morally certain from St. Paul's instructions to Timothy and Titus respecting the appointment of proper persons as elders, or bishops, of those churches. His instructions to both these his fellow-labourers are, that a bishop must be, among other qualifications, "the husband of one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 6), *μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ*. The meaning of this passage has been indeed variously understood; but its natural meaning is that no polygamist be appointed to that representative office in the church. And then the necessary inference is, that there were polygamists in the church; and that the apostle did not, in such cases, insist upon the violation of obligations incurred in their Heathen or Jewish state, but, by his rule respecting bishops, sufficiently marked his feeling that the practice was inconsistent with the ideal of Christianity. Bishop Colenso goes carefully through the scriptural question in connection not merely with these passages, but with all others that can be believed or imagined to bear upon it. He holds that polygamy is forbidden indirectly by the letter of the New Testament, and directly by the spirit of Christianity, and that consequently no Christian ought to *enter* into it or *add* to it. But he finds it practised under the old dispensation by pious men singularly blessed by God; he finds it recognized by the Mosaic law; and he therefore concludes that it is not to be regarded by us as being in all cases and under all circumstances sinful and displeasing in the sight of God. As the Jewish law which allowed polygamy punished adultery as quite another matter, so does the law of the Zulus and Kafirs, who have perhaps derived their marriage practices from Abraham himself through their Arab descent. As such marriages cannot be violently broken without very serious wrong and injury to the wives and their children, we have to choose (the Bishop truly says) between two evils in the case of a polygamist convert:

"Either we must allow him to retain his wives and children and discharge his duties towards them, until it pleases God Himself in His Providence to interfere and release him from his obligations;

"Or we must compel him to commit an act or acts of cruel hardship and wrong to others, and dismiss his wives and children, perhaps to rot and perish in the abominations of heathenism."

The good Bishop finds no direction of the apostles and no authority of the ancient church to guide him in this difficulty; but finds a somewhat similar case provided for by St. Paul, when he requires a convert, whose wife is still heathen, to retain her,

unless she chooses to leave him; and he concludes that "the only righteously possible course" is to let the convert retain his wives "with the understanding that he shall take no more, exhorting him to endeavour, by God's grace, to live as a faithful servant of the Most High among them, according to the light vouchsafed to him, and, like the polygamist Abraham of old, 'to commend them and his children after him to do justice and judgment, and to keep the way of the Lord.'" (P. 7.)

The views of Bishop Colenso on this subject are not by any means new nor strange, though opposed to the now prevalent missionary practice. He has distinctly on his side the Rev. Thomas Scott (the author of the Practical Commentary on the Bible), Dr. James Macknight, John Calvin, Doddridge, Peter Martyr, the late Bishop Hind, of Norwich, Archbishop Whately;* and not a few missionary authorities, as the late Bishop of Grahamstown, Canon Grubb, of the Umlazi Mission, the conductors of the Rhenish and Hanoverian Mission Societies, and (in a modified degree) those of the Berlin and American missions.

He shews us also what is the natural consequence on the success of missions, of making this repudiation of wives the first sign of a regenerate life:

"The greatest hindrance arises to our work among the heathen from these violent demonstrations. . . . No! it is not the purity, the charity, the piety, which the gospel enjoins,—it is not this only, which makes the untaught native shrink, with dislike and distrust, from the nearer approach of a missionary, in a country like this, where, though the teachers and their converts are comparatively few, yet the sound of such teaching has gone forth in a thousand ways, directly and indirectly, into every corner of the land. The 'good heart' within them —the *u Nembeza*—will confess to the excellency of these things; their spirit will respond to the Law of God that it is good, even when the flesh refuses to obey it. But here the mind of the savage—the best instincts of his nature—his sense of duty to his wives and children—his regard for the peace and welfare of his family—will take part with his ignorance and selfishness and evil passions, in repelling the advances of the Christian teacher. The natives, as a body, dread any closer contact with a religion, which, if it takes effect at all among them, is to tear up at once, as they suppose, their family hearths, rend asunder the dearest ties which bind them to one another, and fill their tribes with disorder and confusion." (Letter to Abp. of Canterbury, p. 75.)

We are not aware that either the book on the Romans or that on Zulu Polygamy had excited any strong sensation in this country tending to impugn Dr. Colenso's orthodoxy. But his book on the Pentateuch has at once caused him to be regarded

* Dr. Whately says: "Puzzle-headed people are apt to confound together the *making* of a contract which is in a Christian community not allowed, and the *keeping to* a contract which, when it was made, was lawful. I hold with the Bishop of Natal, that a man who puts away a wife (even though he has another), 'causeth her to commit adultery.'"

as the eighth Essayist; and his episcopal brother of the Cape of Good Hope is understood to be in earnest consultation with the ecclesiastical lawyers how to "promote the office of the judge" against the mitre of Natal. Should it prove, as surmised, that the ecclesiastical law cannot touch a heretic in lawn, it will be a curious acknowledgment for the Church to make, but Dr. Colenso's honour will have the more scope in the Church's helplessness.

Meanwhile, we read the book carefully, and avow our intense interest in the Preface, as part of the autobiography of a good and able and honest man, while we must confess our grievous disappointment in the book itself, even as the first part only of "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined." The critical examination is devoted, in the present volume, to one single difficulty, not new to any thoughtful student, but too commonly slurred by orthodox readers or solved on the part of orthodox critics by suppositions more improbable than itself. The number of the Israelites in the desert (600,000 fighting men, implying two millions or more as the whole emigration) seems so evidently incredible, that no reasonable reader hesitates to say there must be some great mistake or exaggeration. Dean Milman, in his admirable History of the Jews (which was indeed considered somewhat daring in its day), puts the difficulty forward without disguise. He states that perhaps two-thirds of the difficulties and discrepancies which occur in the Hebrew Scriptures, are found in passages which relate to *numbers;* and says, "If we might suppose that a cipher has been added in the total sum and throughout the several particulars, or if we might include men, women and children under the 600,000, the history would gain, in our opinion, both in clearness and consistency." (Milman's History of the Jews, I. 140.) And Professor Norton, of New England, by calculations founded on the probabilities of human increase from the time when Jacob's family were seventy in number to the time of the Exodus, concludes that 100,000, rather than two and a half millions, may have been the proximate number of the emigrants. (Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels, notes, II. 446—450.)

Now Dr. Colenso's work is employed in shewing, by problem after problem arithmetically worked out, the impossibility of the various recorded incidents of the Exodus under the common assumption of the extreme numbers. It is *Colenso's Arithmetic* applied to the Pentateuch. He shews that the court of the tabernacle was not large enough, nor the encampment, as described; that flocks numerous enough for the sustenance of such a multitude could not have found grass in the wilderness, that lambs would not have sufficed for their passover and sacrifices; nay, he shews that, from the data supplied by the history, the descendants of Jacob cannot reasonably be believed to have

numbered 600,000 warriors, but more probably 5000 (see p. 103), representing a total population of 25,000; which is only one-fourth of Professor Norton's estimate and one-tenth of Milman's. The repetition of these calculations in every possible form, chapter by chapter, through 150 pages, seems scarcely necessary to the exposition of the case which has to be explained. But when expounded, how shall it be explained? is the question. While Milman and Palfrey conclude that the actual numbers of the emigrants *must have been far less than stated*, and thus make the event itself in its broad outline historically credible, Dr. Colenso seems to conclude from these exaggerations that the Pentateuch is not historical, though his own still lower estimate of the probable numbers would still further facilitate the history. We wonder again and again that this way of looking at the argument did not strike him. We are, however, indebted to him for collecting into a small space more absurdities and trivialities than we had imagined to have been uttered by all the commentators who have supposed it their duty to prove everything to have been just as stated, including those who account for the incredible increase of the Israelites by talking nonsense about polygamy, and supposing (like good Bishop Patrick) that by the "extraordinary blessing of God," the Hebrew women might have had "six children at a time." Surely these modes of making possible that which, regarded as a fact, entails new difficulties on all hands, might be allowed the natural office of invalidating the alleged fact.

It is not clear yet—perhaps a second part of the book will make it so—to what degree Dr. Colenso thinks the Pentateuch non-historical. The nearest approach we can find to a statement of his *thesis* is, "That the Pentateuch, as a whole, was not written by Moses, and that, with respect to some at least of the chief portions of the story, it cannot be regarded as historically true." Now, if the systematic exaggeration of arithmetical numbers must be called a *chief* portion or portions of the story, Dr. Colenso has amply proved his thesis; for few scholars will maintain that the whole Pentateuch was written by Moses, as Genesis is held by many to be older than his time, and the narrative of his own death, of course, later. But does the exaggeration of numbers make the difference between history and no history? On this principle we might be happy to disbelieve the horrible war now said to be waging in America. Where the chief difficulty of believing an alleged emigration is the numerical extent ascribed to it, we bring it within historical credibility as soon as we see grounds for reducing its numbers.

For these reasons we ascribe little value or importance to the body of the present volume; but if, before publishing a second part, the able and accomplished author will give himself time to mature his thoughts on the whole subject of the Pentateuch

(and Joshua added, if he thinks proper), he may do a great service to the unthinking but conforming, and yet doubting, professors of an undiscriminating belief in the Bible. We doubt whether he has quite found his own firm theological position yet; and turn now to his more interesting Preface, which shews this to be the case in regard to larger questions than the arithmetic of the Exodus.

A large part of it consists of a letter written early in 1861, but not forwarded, to a professor of divinity (not named) in one of the English universities. This letter is a most affecting disclosure of the distress and perplexity to which a generous and intelligent mind may be doomed under our English ecclesiastical system, which developes the best minds of the nation by the highest literary and scientific culture, and then takes for granted that in devoting themselves as ministers of Christ, they can accept as matter of course, or of routine, or of form, or else of minute belief, the complicated dogmatic articles and creeds of the Prayer-book; and under which, in point of fact, all questions of distinct theological belief are usually left to be thought out, and even the morals of belief and disbelief to be ascertained, after signing the articles, undertaking the care of souls, and perhaps after obtaining the "goodly work" of a bishop. It was a cruel position for such a man to find himself in, when a Zulu Hottentot shewed him he did not understand his own belief; but the acknowledgment does honour to Dr. Colenso:

"You will, of course, expect that, since I have had the charge of this Diocese, I have been closely occupied in the study of the Zulu tongue, and in translating the Scriptures into it. Through the blessing of God, I have now translated the New Testament completely, and several parts of the Old, among the rest the books of Genesis and Exodus. In this work I have been aided by intelligent natives; and, having also published a Zulu Grammar and Dictionary, I have acquired sufficient knowledge of the language, to be able to have intimate communion with the native mind, while thus engaged with them, so as not only to avail myself freely of their criticisms, but to appreciate fully their objections and difficulties. Thus, however, it has happened that I have been brought again face to face with questions, which caused me some uneasiness in former days, but with respect to which I was then enabled to satisfy my mind sufficiently for practical purposes, and I had fondly hoped to have laid the ghosts of them at last for ever. Engrossed with parochial and other work in England, I did what, probably, many other clergymen have done under similar circumstances,—I contented myself with silencing, by means of the specious explanations, which are given in most commentaries, the ordinary objections against the historical character of the early portions of the Old Testament, and settled down into a willing acquiescence in the general truth of the narrative, whatever difficulties might still hang about particular parts of it. In short, the doctrinal and devotional portions of the Bible were what were needed most in parochial duty. And, if a passage of the Old Testament formed at any time the subject of a ser-

mon, it was easy to draw from it practical lessons of daily life, without examining closely into the historical truth of the narrative. It is true, there were one or two stories, which presented great difficulties, too prominent not to be noticed, and which were brought every now and then before us in the Lessons of the Church, such *e.g.* as the account of the Creation and the Deluge. But, on the whole, I found so much of Divine Light and Life in these and other parts of the Sacred Book, so much wherewith to feed my own soul and the souls of others, that I was content to take all this for granted, as being true in the main, however wonderful, and as being at least capable, in an extreme case, of *some* sufficient explanation.

"Here, however, as I have said, amidst my work in this land, I have been brought face to face with the very questions which I then put by. While translating the story of the Flood, I have had a simple-minded, but intelligent, native,—one with the docility of a child, but the reasoning powers of mature age,—look up, and ask, 'Is all that true? Do you really believe that all this happened thus,—that all the beasts, and birds, and creeping things, upon the earth, large and small, from hot countries and cold, came thus by pairs, and entered into the ark with Noah? And did Noah gather food for them *all*, for the beasts and birds of prey, as well as the rest?' My heart answered in the words of the Prophet, 'Shall a man speak lies in the Name of the LORD?' Zech. xiii. 3. I dared not do so. My own knowledge of some branches of science, of Geology in particular, had been much increased since I left England; and I now knew for certain, on geological grounds, a fact, of which I had only had misgivings before, viz. that a *Universal* Deluge, such as the Bible manifestly speaks of, could not possibly have taken place in the way described in the Book of Genesis, not to mention other difficulties which the story contains."—Pp. vi—viii.

"I was thus driven,—against my will at first, I may truly say,—to search more deeply into these questions; and I have since done so, to the best of my power, with the means at my disposal in this colony. And now I tremble at the result of my enquiries, rather, I should do so, were it not that I believe firmly in a God of Righteousness and Truth and Love, who both 'IS, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.' Should all else give way beneath me, I feel that His Everlasting Arms are still under me. I am sure that the solid ground is there, on which my feet can rest, in the knowledge of Him, 'in whom I live, and move, and have my being,' who is my 'faithful Creator,' my 'Almighty and most Merciful Father.' *That* Truth I see with my spirit's eyes, once opened to the light of it, as plainly as I see the Sun in the heavens. And that Truth, I know, more or less distinctly apprehended, has been the food of living men, the strength of brave souls that 'yearn for light,' and battle for the right and the true, the support of struggling and sorrow-stricken hearts, in all ages of the world, in all climes, under all religions."—Pp. viii, ix.

And here are words of serious estimate as to the state of theological thought among the educated laity of England and the prospects of the National Church:

"There can be no doubt, however, that a very wide-spread distrust does exist among the intelligent Laity in England, as to the soundness

of the ordinary view of Scripture Inspiration. But such distrust is generally grounded on one or two objections, felt strongly, perhaps, but yet imperfectly apprehended, not on a devout and careful study of the whole question, with deliberate consideration of all that can be said on both sides of it. Hence it is rather secretly felt, than openly expressed; though it is sufficiently exhibited to the eye of a reflecting man in many outward signs of the times, and in none more painfully than in the fact, which has been lamented by more than one of the English Bench of Bishops, and which every Colonial Bishop must still more sorrowfully confess, that the great body of the more intelligent students of our Universities no longer come forward to devote themselves to the service of the Church, but are drafted off into other professions. How can it be otherwise, when in an age like the present,—which has been well described as one 'remarkable for fearlessness, and, it may be hoped, for sincerity, in the pursuit of truth,' (Rev. Preb. Cook, *Aids to Faith*, p. 133,)—the very condition of a young man's entering the Ministry of the Church of England is, that he surrender henceforth all freedom of thought, or, at least, of utterance, upon the great questions which the age is rife in, and solemnly bind himself for life to 'believe unfeignedly in all the Canonical Scriptures;' while he probably knows enough already of geology, at all events, if not of the results of critical enquiry, to feel that he cannot honestly profess to believe in them implicitly?* The Church of England must fall to the ground by its own internal weakness,—by losing its hold upon the growing intelligence of all classes,—unless some remedy be very soon applied to this state of things. It is a miserable policy, which now prevails, unworthy of the Truth itself, and one which cannot long be maintained, to 'keep things quiet.'" Pp. xxiii, xxiv.

"I believe that there are not a few among the more highly educated classes of society in England, and multitudes among the more intelligent operatives, who are in danger of drifting into irreligion and practical atheism, under this dim sense of the unsoundness of the popular view, combined with a feeling of distrust of their spiritual teachers, as if *these* must be either ignorant of facts, which to themselves are patent, or, at least, insensible to the difficulties which those facts involve, or else, being aware of their existence, and feeling their importance, are consciously ignoring them."—P. xxvi.

"I trust that we shall not rest until the system of our Church be reformed, and her boundaries at the same time enlarged, to make her what a National Church should be, the Mother of spiritual life to all within the realm, embracing, as far as possible, all the piety, and learning, and earnestness, and goodness, of the nation."—P. xxxv.

"In conclusion, I commend this subject more especially to the attention of the Laity. *They* are happy enough to be able to lay aside such questions as these, if they will, while still continuing members of the National Church. I implore them to consider the position, in which

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* "This passage I have written, notwithstanding the relief given to the consciences of many of the clergy by Dr. Lushington's recent judgment, because, if I mistake not, the answer in the Ordination Service is not the only part of our formularies, that will be generally understood, until explained by judicial authority, to involve implicit belief in the historical truth of the facts recorded in the Pentateuch.

the *Clergy* will be placed, if the facts, brought forward in this book, are found to be substantially true. Let them examine their own hearts solemnly, in the sight of God, on these points. Would they have the Clergy bound, under pains and penalties, to profess belief in that, which they do not themselves believe in, to which they would not on any account commit themselves? Are they willing that their own sons, who may feel the Divine call to devote themselves to the ministry of souls, should be entangled in these trammels, so galling to the conscience, so injurious to their sense of truth and honesty, so impeding to the freedom and heartiness of their ministrations? *We*, indeed, who are already under the yoke, may have for a time to bear it, however painful it may be, while we struggle and hope on for deliverance. But what youth of noble mind, with a deep yearning for truth, and an ardent desire to tell out the love of God to man, will consent to put himself voluntarily into such fetters? It may be possible to represent some of the arguments in this book as invalid, others as unimportant. But, if the main result of it be true, as I believe it will be found to be, it seems to me impossible that, five years hence, unless liberty of speech be granted on these matters, any of the more hopeful and intelligent of our young men will be able, with clear consciences, to enter the ministry of the Church of England."—Pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

We have not space to do justice to the whole subject thus opened up. But we must not omit the allusions made by the Bishop of Natal to the recent decisions of the Court of Arches.

In his letter to the Divinity Professor he evidently contemplates resigning his office, because he has to require from others a solemn declaration that they "unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament," "which, with the evidence now before me, it is impossible wholly to believe in." But he adds in a note, "This was written before the recent decision of the Court of Arches, by which, of course, the above conclusion is materially affected." Then, in the newer portion of his Preface (p. xxiv, just quoted) he repeats the same difficulty as felt by the young man himself on entering the ministry, adding in a note that notwithstanding Dr. Lushington's recent decision, "the answer in the Ordination Service is not the only part of our formularies that will generally be understood, until explained by judicial authority, to involve implicit belief in the historical truth of the facts recorded in the Pentateuch." These passages seem to betray the wavering and inconsistency of a mind still perplexed; but whatever the legal decisions of the ecclesiastical courts may say or leave unsaid, we are confident that Dr. Colenso will pronounce true judgment in the court of his own conscience.

## THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST, THE TEST OF A MAN'S CHRISTIANITY.

Romans viii. 9: "Now if any one hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

THE apostle appears here to give us a criterion by which we are enabled and authorized to judge whether any individual person, or any corporation of persons calling itself "a church," is entitled to the designation of Christian, by informing us what constitutes a non-Christian, namely, the absence of "the spirit of Christ." If, then, it be asked, what was "the spirit of Christ"?—for the fullest and most perfect information on this point we may refer to nearly every page of the history of his life in the Gospels. It was the spirit of piety, of holiness, of devotion, of trust in Almighty God, of sincerity, of charity, of meekness, of humility, of submission to the Divine will, and of every virtue, both human and divine, of which we are enabled to form a conception as capable of ennobling and exalting the character, and making the possessor the object of veneration, and love, and trust, and obedience.

The absence of these qualifications is what the apostle deems, and what every one who seriously reflects must deem, "not the spirit of Christ;" and consequently the individual or the church violating the criterion laid down by the apostle is not entitled to the designation of *Christian.*

With respect to individuals, we are not authorized to judge, except from their actions alone, whether they are or are not of "the spirit of Christ;" and the moral laws of Christianity are too plain and perfect not to be an unerring guide. Merely speculative opinions, resulting in no violation of Christian morals or duty, may be deemed in themselves harmless, as they are generally addressed to subjects on which the propounders are necessarily as ignorant as those who oppose them, and they are mischievous only when they lead in individuals to uncharitable denunciations.

This, however, is not the case with churches established and supported by human laws, and which, in the arrogance of their high pretensions, fabricate unscriptural metaphysical creeds, fulminating anathemas on all who cannot receive their dogmas. But these churches, generally, have not stopped at this point, and, whenever they have possessed the power, have inflicted the most revolting persecutions and murders on those who could not conscientiously receive their insane decrees. We are fully justified in asserting that such a church has not the spirit of Christ, and therefore "is none of his." Did Christ ever invoke the vengeance of earth or heaven on those who opposed his teachings? Did he ever denounce with woe any but the hypocritical? Did he ever proceed further than when he said, "Woe unto you, ye Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites"? Did he ever

direct those who did not receive his doctrine, or even opposed it, to be tied to the stake and burned alive? All these things have established political churches done. Are we not then justified in saying that a church professing such powers and inflicting such cruelties is not a Christian church? There are, no doubt, multitudes in every church who, although professing to be members, shrink with horror from the excesses we have alluded to, but perhaps may not have the power or the opportunity to withdraw from its communion. Such parties demand our pity rather than condemnation.

We will now attempt to consider what have been the causes and consequences of this abandonment of "the spirit of Christ." The cause may, we believe, be traced principally, if not wholly, to the convocation of ecclesiastical councils and synods by the civil powers, with a view to enforce an uniformity in the profession of what these political and wicked assemblies have presumed to call "the Christian verities," but which were monstrous and incredible dogmas of their own creation, to answer their ambitious purposes, and which are totally unsupported by the language, and utterly opposed to the spirit, of the gospel, being, as we learn from ecclesiastical history, a direct and unredeemed violation of it. The consequences have been fearful, since the result has been the expulsion of Christianity from all those parts of the world where it was originally promulgated in all its heavenly purity. What has become of the Christianity which the apostles once planted in Syria, Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Africa, Greece, and other places, where it has been supplanted by Mahommedanism? No one who investigates the subject with an unprejudiced mind can fail to perceive that it was the *corruption* of Christianity by the decrees of councils and synods, aided and stimulated by the civil power for purely worldly purposes, from which originated its expulsion by the Moslem faith. The latter is a remarkable phenomenon, being a strange compound of Paganism, Judaism and Christianity; but it may probably have its mission, and be the means, at present inscrutable, of restoring to those parts of the earth where Christianity has been defiled, the pure and uncorrupted doctrines of the gospel. Amidst all its errors, and many are baneful and deplorable, the Mahommedan faith has retained the absolute unity and infinite perfection of the one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe. It admits also the divine mission of Jesus Christ, but unhappily maintains that it was not perfect nor final, and that Mahomet was commissioned to complete it. The errors of this system appear to be relaxing, and if the unscriptural assumptions of so-called orthodoxy were withdrawn, there may be reasonable ground to hope that the lands from which pure Christianity has been banished might again be enlightened and blest by it.

As a brief illustration of a portion of the preceding views, we will state one plain case, confined to the consideration of a very limited portion of the result of ecclesiastical assumptions. Amongst these it has been decreed that the doctrine of the Trinity contains a true and infallible exposition of the mode of existence of the Deity, and all are most unceremoniously cursed who deny it, and until recently, even in this country, were subjected to heavy pains and penalties. It must necessarily be admitted that an apostle would be perfectly competent to decide what were the teachings of his Master as to whom and in what manner he was to address his worship, and also that he would be perfectly ignorant of the metaphysical conjurations which make at the same time one three and three one. Supposing, then, that such an apostle, necessarily uninformed as he must be, were to enter an orthodox church at the commencement of that part of the service called the Litany, what must be his surprise and confusion at hearing the three unscriptural invocations of, "O God the Father of heaven"—"O God the Son"—"O God the Holy Ghost"! Could he possibly form any other conception than that he had unfortunately dropped into an assembly of worshipers of three Gods, and one of them a "Ghost" of their own creation? But when he heard the fourth invocation, "O holy, blessed and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God," he would necessarily be filled with amazement, and rush out to inquire who this fourth God was, named "Trinity," consisting of three persons, of whom, never having heard from his Master or his fellow-apostles, he could necessarily know nothing. His natural conclusion would be, that he had been mistaken in supposing that he was about to unite in worship with an assembly of the disciples of his Master, and he must have quitted it with disappointment and disgust. The doctrine of the Trinity has in fact been wholly the creation of men influenced by pride and tyranny for the purpose of preserving their authority by the enforcement of their presumptuous decrees on the ignorant and superstitious. By these, as before suggested, it is to be presumed that Christianity has been banished from its ancient seats, and the Moslem faith has been admitted. If it be asserted that a material distinction exists between what we deem corrupted Christianity and the Moslem faith, because the latter has been mainly propagated by the sword, it may be confidently replied, that there is no difference in principle between the enforcing the profession of belief by the sword in one case, and by faggot and fire in another; but the latter has been the practice of orthodoxy. Let, then, all societies of professing Christians endeavour to shew that they are Christ's by manifesting his spirit. When this is their guide, and not before, Christianity will have its perfect work.

## PERRY'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

The Church of England is a subject of no small interest to an Englishman, whether Conformist or Dissenter. It has for centuries largely influenced the policy of kings and statesmen, and its history and that of our country are closely associated. Lord Macaulay styles it in his History a "great institution," and adds the remark, that "to the strong passions which it has called forth in the minds both of friends and enemies are to be attributed many of the most important events which have since the Reformation taken place in our country; nor can the secular history of England be at all understood by us, unless we study it in constant connection with the history of her ecclesiastical policy." (Hist., Vol. I. pp. 52, 53, 12mo edit.) The union of the Church with our Universities is still closer than with the State, and has produced and is producing results of good and evil, the amount and proportions of which it is not easy to estimate. In its moral and spiritual agency, the Church of England has been one of many forces in operation helping to mould the character of Englishmen, and to make them what they are, whether as citizens or religious beings. If, as is probably the case, Englishmen are as sincere and earnest in their religion as any people on the face of the globe, the merit of the result is in some degree due to the Church in whose lap their spiritual nature has been fostered. The literature which is associated with such names as Hooker, Mede, Jackson, Farrindon, Chillingworth, Hales, Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Clarke, Jortin, Heber and Arnold, gives honourable distinction to a Church which numbers them amongst its clergy. Nor in alluding to the claims of the Church of England on our respect, can we fail to mention the wholesome influence which the parochial clergy, especially in secluded and thinly-peopled districts, have exercised over the intelligence, the morals and the taste of the people. Before railroads and the press were doing the work of civilization for us, the clergy were, what Mr. Wordsworth has described them, "the principal bulwark against barbarism, and the link which unites the sequestered peasantry with the intellectual advancement of the age."

The Church of England, then, well deserves a historian; and if he is to do justice to his work, he must bring to it scholarship, catholic sympathies and a philosophical spirit of discrimination. The difficulties of his task are enormous, resulting in part from the controversies in which the Church of England has been engaged, but still more from its own essentially anomalous position.

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* The History of the Church of England. From the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time. By Rev. George Perry, M.A., Rector of Waddington, late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Pp. 664. 1861. Vol. II. Pp. 691. 1862.

It sprang from the Church of Rome; and though claiming to have reformed the abuses of that Church both in the matter of doctrine and ceremony, it retained some things, both in its doctrinal symbols and rituals, which cannot be defended in a Church professing to recognize the sufficiency of scripture and the right of private judgment. Compromise is stamped on every feature of the Established Church. We still have what Lord Chatham called its Calvinistic creed and its Popish liturgy, though the clergy are less Arminian now than they were in his day. In its controversies with Rome, the Anglican Church is Protestant, but in those it holds with Nonconformists it resorts to the Popish dogmas of infallibility and apostolical succession. Logically, the position of the Church of England is untenable. It is strategically indefensible against the Romanist on the one side, and against the Nonconformist on the other. But the Nonconformist, however logical he may be in his controversies with the Established Church, is scarcely qualified to write its history. Spite of its anomalies, inconsistencies and contradictions, the Church of England has in every age of its existence done good to the morals and religion of our people. Englishmen are essentially a practical race. They care little for abstract theories; so long as substantial good is achieved, whether in State or Church, they pay little heed to theorists. Their clergyman may be overmatched by his Romish neighbour in respect to the Fathers and Councils of the Church, and by the Nonconformist in respect to the interpretation of some portions of the Bible, or in respect to the first principles of truth; but they do not quit the parish church, either for the mass or the meeting-house, so long as the services of the Church are decently conducted, the life of the clergyman respectable, and the parsonage the centre of judicious almsgiving and other Christian virtues.

Of works professing to be histories of the Church of England we have enough and to spare. Some of them are so palpably marked with the spirit of party, that they put themselves out of the domain of sober history. The volumes of Heylin, Collier, Lathbury, are specimens of bad Church histories; and to their names we regret to add that of Robert Southey, whose superficial and intolerant "Book of the Church" is only redeemed by its pure and eloquent style. Strype is not in the proper sense of the word a historian, though he was a diligent and faithful collector of the materials of Church history. His annals and memorials and biographies are huge collections, put together without artistical skill, and related in a style painfully uncouth. Good Thomas Fuller "endeavoured" (to use his own phrase) a Church History of Britain, reaching to the middle of the 17th century, and spite of much looseness and inaccuracy it is a work which no ecclesiastical library should want. More recently we have had from Mr. Carwithen and Bishop Short sketches of the history

of the Church of England, which, though slight and feeble, may be commended for the moderation of their tone. Dr. Hook is now engaged in a biographical history of the See of Canterbury, which must almost of necessity expand into one of the Church of England. But the rancorous tone of his Ecclesiastical Dictionary forbids the hope that when his work descends to the period when Nonconformity has to be described, he will preserve the rightful spirit of history.

Of all the writers of our own age from whose hands we should gratefully have accepted a history of the Church of England, we may name the late Sir James Stephen. Could he have even extended his series of Ecclesiastical Sketches so as to include Laud and South, Ken, Herbert and Burnet, Henry More and Tillotson, and produced as perfect specimens of biographical and historical portraiture as in his Life of Baxter, the work would have been invaluable. Less interesting, but of scarcely less value, would have been a Church history from the pen of Hallam, one of the wisest and most impartial of our historical writers. A layman and a moderate conformist is the proper person to be the historian of the Church of England. A clergyman, like a Nonconformist (though in the opposite direction), comes to his work with certain foregone conclusions. He cannot but treat some portions of the history of his Church in a controversial spirit.

The volumes now offered us by Mr. Perry are better entitled to attention than any in our language professing to treat on the same subject. They are pleasantly written (though not free from carelessness of style), and they are conceived in a liberal and genial spirit. Mr. Perry has entered on his difficult task impressed with the belief that the genius of his Church is moderate and comprehensive. We may think that he has sometimes failed in his appreciation of the arguments of those who dissent from his Church because they think it narrow and intolerant; but of his own sincere liberality we cannot feel a doubt. He has not attempted to gather from hidden or secluded stores new historical facts. He who attempts this must give his life to his work; and if he is to do it well, his life must not be a short one. We cannot but believe that, with all the sources of knowledge now for the first time opened to us, there is a magnificent opportunity for an English Church historian. Mr. Perry contents himself, for the most part, with resorting to the "ordinary printed sources" of historical knowledge. That the result of his labours is a work so interesting and useful, and differing so widely from other Church histories, is a significant comment on the spirit of his predecessors. His own "fairness and impartiality" give a pleasant air of novelty to his volumes. Of the higher qualities of the historian, the acute analysis of motives and the power of philosophical discrimination, our author is

wanting. Nor does he possess in any considerable degree the art of literary criticism. His sketches of the more important writers of theology in England and their principal works, while containing much that is interesting in statement, give little proof of mental grasp, or of sympathy with the nobler qualities of the writers whom he commends.

Of the character and aim of those ruling spirits of the Church of England prior to the time when his History begins, Mr. Perry does not conceal his judgment. As to Henry VIII., he is no disciple of Mr. Froude, but gives his assent to the popular verdict, and describes him as "a lustful and cruel tyrant, who had no definite religious purpose save the reckless assertion of his own will." Of Elizabeth he speaks with little admiration, censuring "her arbitrary vigour, her unhesitating seizure of Church property, and her unscrupulous tyrannizing over Churchmen."

The point whence he starts, while it saves him from some embarrassing topics, is one on which a Churchman cannot look with much complacency. A despicable monarch like James the First dwarfs the Church of which he is the acknowledged head. The higher clergy, whose misfortune it was to listen to and to be obliged to flatter their pedantic, selfish and unworthy monarch, are objects of commiseration, but scarcely of our respect.

We must extract the passage in which he wisely declines the defence of the intolerance of his Church towards the Puritans.

"It is too much the fashion in these days to defend the persecution and intolerance of those times on the ground that nobody then understood toleration. On the same principle we might apologise for any crime, provided it were generally prevalent. The fundamentals of morality, the precepts of the New Testament were the same then as now. It needed not to constitute a crime that it should be exceptional, neither is it possible to prove that the Christians of that day were involved in a helpless and therefore excusable ignorance. Much indeed may be forgiven to the heats of party strife, just as in war deeds are allowed which are not tolerable in time of peace, but before all things, let us call things by their right names, and not gloze over the cruelties of the sixteenth century, whether done by Protestant or Papist, as the necessary conditions of their rudimental and uneducated state—to be pitied rather than condemned. It may be possible to palliate the executions of the Jesuits on the ground of dangerous treason, but to burn poor Dutch Anabaptists at Smithfield for their silly ravings, or Matthew Hamant, 'a poor plowwright of Featherset, within three miles of Norwich,' these are crimes disgraceful alike to Queen and bishops. Would that it could be alleged with truth on the part of the great divines of the Reformation, that they had done nothing more than commit to prison some of the refractory Puritan leaders; would that the somewhat rude and violent treatment resorted to against men of position and mark were all their fault. This might easily be pardoned. It was provoked, many might say justified. But there is something much graver than this. There is discernible a disposition to fall with excessive ferocity upon helpless ignorant victims—men who had not a Calvin

or a Beza at their back—men to whose execution even the Puritan would consent with a grim complacency. The wild ravings of Anabaptists and Familists were deliberately treated as crimes, and assailed with torture and death. After the passing of the Act to make attendance at church compulsory, the prisons were full of fanciful Brownists and Barrowites, the persecution of whom is quite another thing from the rigorous measures taken against the Puritan clergy. These were poor men who had separated themselves from the Church, and did not obstinately cling to it and strive to bend it to their own views. All they desired was liberty for their own way of worship, and it was mere cruel persecution to imprison and condemn them. This indeed was the doing of the Parliament and the Queen, and not of the bishops; still these latter are in a measure responsible, as an influential part of the governing body which was guilty of such excesses."—I. pp. 10—12.

While Mr. Perry abandons as hopeless the defence of the personal character of the rulers in the Reformation era, he thinks it a great advantage that the change of religion in England was brought about, not, as in Scotland and Germany, by popular movement and impulse, but by the action of the government. To this he traces the conservative character stamped on the Reformation. It was spared the horrors of an iconoclastic devastation. The divines of the Reformation were able, he thinks, to avoid making the definitions and limits of conformity too strict. But we cannot think him consistent with himself when he proceeds to enumerate among the drawbacks of this strong conservative element the sway which the Puritans were able to acquire over the popular mind in England. He thinks it "eminently provoking" that the Puritans gave good Churchmen trouble in such insignificant matters as vestments of the priests and the postures of worshipers. To him they may appear insignificant, but they were not insignificant in the eyes of those who resisted them. Cannot our historian see that it was "eminently provoking" in the hierarchy to insist on conformity in matters of such little importance? The Puritans believed that there was a great principle at stake in resisting religious impositions, and therefore their nonconformity was more than justified to their consciences. In such a case, not the resistance, but the imposition, "becomes contentiousness." Mr. Perry thinks the "scrupulous hesitation" of the Puritans "imbecility;" we rather think the unscrupulous force of the hierarchy tyranny.

Calvinism was the prevalent theology in the Church at the era selected by our historian as his starting-point. Mr. Perry thinks, in a passage sufficiently remarkable to deserve quotation, that it was a plant unsuited to the English soil.

"The great foreign theologians, and especially Calvin, were men of a more powerful cast of mind than the English fathers of the Reformation; and hence the spell of their genius exercised a fascination, which sober judgments ought to have better resisted and withstood. Meaner teachers of antinomianism would have been summarily suppressed, but

Calvin, who, with a bolder flight, ventured even to impeach the righteousness of the Most High, was accepted with a trembling acquiescence. His system, complete and perfect as it appeared in all its parts; accounting, as it did, for all difficulties by a daring dogmatizing on matters lying far out of the province of the human understanding, challenged and obtained a profound and deferential homage. The Calvinistic theology, however, was not a plant suited for English growth. Soon it began to dwindle and fade before the broad scriptural views of the writers of the seventeenth century."—I. p. 21.

It is greatly to be lamented that the powerful party misnamed "Evangelical" has helped to bring back so much of the spirit of Calvin's theology. Mr. Perry does not spare the clergy, and especially the bishops of James the First, for their sycophancy to the King, and attributes to this feeling their severity against Nonconformists. Of the Hampton-Court conference he gives a tolerably fair account, following chiefly Dean Barlow's narrative, but taking no notice of the fact that its accuracy was impugned, and that they who opposed the prelates averred that it deserved no credit.* It was the turning-point of a new ecclesiastical policy in the Church. It removed all doubts as to the anti-Puritan tendencies of the King, and decided the course of those clergy whom Fuller wittily called "cripples in conformity,"—men who knew not their own mind till they learnt the King's, and were from that day cured of their halting gait.

Mr. Perry describes happily the difference of the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth and James.

"Elizabeth's conception of the Church was a thoroughly Erastian one. She upheld it, but she controlled it. She imprisoned the primate, and threatened to 'unfrock' him; she looked upon the clergy as state officers, and on Puritans as seditious and rebellious subjects. The Queen would never admit a conference. She would have thought it just as reasonable for rogues to have a voice in making the laws on stealing, as for Nonconformists to be heard as to the difficulties in subscription.

"King James looked at Church matters from a different point of view. He was a theologian by taste and study. He hated Puritans as much as his predecessor, but, apart from his personal dislike to them, his antipathy was more that of a polemical divine than a ruler. Writing on the subject of the conference, he complains not of their insubordination as Elizabeth would have done, but of their bad arguments. 'They fled me from argument to argument without ever answering me directly *(ut est eorum moris)*, that I was forced to tell them that if any of them when boys had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied the rod. . . .' The Puritans indeed were not likely to be more mildly treated under James than under Elizabeth,

* Dean Barlow's "Sum and Substance of the Conference," &c., is given in the Phenix, Vol. I. pp. 139—180. The Dean in his Preface gives evidence of the existence of conflicting narratives, for he denounces some in circulation as "partial," "untrue" and "slanderous."

only they were now persecuted on theological grounds, as heretics, rather than traitors."—I. p. 109.

Of the rise of the Brownists, the predecessors of the Independents, Mr. Perry's account is both meagre and inaccurate. He allows himself thus to describe the eminent and wise pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: "Mr. John Robinson, a Norfolk divine settled at Leyden, not only anathematized the Church of England, but the foreign reformed churches also." For this statement the authority of Neal is given. On turning, however, to Neal, we find the statement that Robinson, though he advised his people to separate from the foreign churches in the sacrament and discipline, did not deny their claim to be true churches, admitted their members to occasional communion, and allowed his own to join with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word. And according to the testimony of John Shaw, the Presbyterian of Hull, Mr. Robinson's final sentiments towards the Church of England were of the same kind. We submit that Mr. Perry ought to have made himself acquainted with the latest and best sources of information respecting a man so distinguished by position and talents, and in reality so catholic in his sentiments, as John Robinson.

The one redeeming feature of James's reign was his patronage of the new translation of the Bible. This great work has scarcely received from Mr. Perry the full consideration it deserves. It would become him as a historian to modify or to justify (if he can) his description of James's translation as the "most accurate and felicitous" of the versions of the Bible.

Mr. Perry is always most commendable when he has to speak of and censure wanton acts of persecution. He adduces the cases of Ladd, Mansell and Fuller, in 1609, as affording a terrible "insight into the under currents which were at work to produce the surface tranquillity and uniformity of these times." Mr. Thomas Ladd's crime was, that he was suspected to favour conventicles at Yarmouth; Mr. Mansell's, a clergyman, that he was suspected of being a partaker in a petition to the House of Commons. Mr. Nicholas Fuller's crime was, that as a barrister of Gray's Inn he defended the other two. All three were imprisoned, denied bail by the judges, and Fuller at least never left his prison alive.

Of the proceedings which were in this reign taken against some Arian heretics, "poor, unsupported, disowned,"* our historian speaks with becoming indignation.

"Bartholomew Legate was an Essex man, 'of a comely person and dark complexion,' in age about forty years. His life had been un-

* We omit Mr. Perry's other phrase, "half crazed." This is the sort of sop which liberal Churchmen, when writing on such subjects, think it necessary to throw out to appease the Cerberus of theological bigotry.

blameable, and he was excellently skilled in the Scriptures. Unfortunately, however, he had drawn from the study of the sacred writings opinions very similar to those of the Unitarians in our own day, and believed himself bound to deny the divinity of the Saviour and to refuse to address Him in prayer. Being informed against to the Bishop of London, the fame of his heresy soon reached the King, and James, with his strange fondness for religious disputation, caused him to be often brought before him. But Legate was a man of a bold, determined spirit, and the royal disputant could get no advantage over him. On one occasion he so stoutly withstood him, that the King, either inflamed by zeal or irritated by pique, offered him the unmanly outrage of spurning him with his foot, but neither fair words nor ill usage could convince the heretic. Before the Bishops' Court, in the Consistory of St. Paul's, he was more bold and defiant even than with the King. He denied and scoffed at the authority of the court, and often declared that he would sue the bishops who had committed him to Newgate, for false imprisonment. He seemed to court his fate by the indiscretion and audacity of his tone. That fate was not long in overtaking him. King, Bishop of London, 'finally convented him in the Consistory of St. Paul's, on the 3rd of March. And foreseeing that his proceedings herein would meet with many listening ears, prying eyes, and prating tongues, chose many reverend bishops, able divines, and learned lawyers, to assist him. So that the Consistory, so replenished for the time being, seemed not so much a large court as a little convocation.' Was there, in all that assembly, any man who really felt ashamed and abashed at the horrible farce in which he was acting a part, or did every one of the grave men there assembled, in his heart believe that the burning of a heretic was an acceptable piacular offering to the offended majesty of Heaven? It is idle to speculate, but we do not read in this case of any earnest protest, like that offered by good old John Foxe to Queen Elizabeth; all were, with one consent, agreed that the 'obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic' must die. It is evident from Fuller's account that there were 'doubts, difficulties, and legal scruples' in the way, but all these were speedily got rid of; for, on March 11, the King directs his letters, under the Privy Seal, to the Lord Chancellor, to prepare the writ *de heretico comburendo*, under the Broad Seal, and direct it to the sheriffs of London; and on March 18, Bartholomew Legate was burnt to death in Smithfield. Vast, we are told, was the concourse of people; the whole city poured forth its thousands to witness the unwonted sight; but was there one of all those thousands whose heart was touched with penitence, or whose soul was warmed with charity, at the sight of this revolting exhibition of torture inflicted in the name of the loving Saviour of mankind? We could have wished that it had fallen to the lot of some other bishop than King, whose bold stand in the matter of the divorce-trial of next year, does him so much credit, to inaugurate this *auto-da-fé* in Protestant England."—I. pp. 202—205.

Mr. Perry gives in a note two curious illustrative letters from Archbishop Abbot, shewing how the legal difficulties and scruples alluded to by Fuller were put aside, and the devices resorted to to keep Lord Coke out of court, whose "singularity of opinion" in disapproving of murder under the name of religion and

law was likely to be inconvenient. Our readers will find these letters, and other curious matters drawn from contemporary sources, in C. R., 1850, p. 226. From Chamberlain's news letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, we learn that it was the opinion of some lawyers (Lord Coke probably the chief who held this opinion) that there was no law to execute heretics, and that what was done in that way in Elizabeth's reign was in violation of law. The news writer adds, speaking of James I., "yet he will adventure to burn him with a good conscience." We learn from another letter of the same writer that the execution was fixed early, probably with the vain hope of keeping the multitude away. The sufferer said little, but died with all the firmness that became a Christian martyr. This was the last burning in Smithfield. It is probable that the ashes not long since dug up on the spot where these judicial murders were wont to be perpetrated were those of Bartholomew Legate.*

One other *auto-da-fé* remains to be celebrated in England. Mr. Perry thus tells the story:

"The next prelate whose lawn was stained with blood, was of a meaner sort. Neile, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, was too good a courtier not to be eager to follow the fashion approved of by the King, and to countenance and support the Smithfield murder by a similar one in his own diocese. If we were to write down against this prelate all that is deliberately stated of him by his Metropolitan, Archbishop Abbot, his character would be by no means a flattering one. Abbot was bid to beware of him, for that 'he was ever and in all things naught. That he did all the worst offices that ever he could, and was still stirring the coals to procure to himself a reputation.' 'I know not,' said another, 'what the Bishop of Litchfield does among you, but he hath made a shift to be taken for a knave generally with us in the court.' These sketches of his character, the archbishop found by no means overdrawn; he has left on record that 'he dealt ill with the late Lord Treasurer (Salisbury), and most falsely with the Archbishop (Bancroft), and was detested by both of them.' The same time-serving, fawning spirit, which made Bishop Neile so odious to his brethren, in all probability made him eager to please the King by bringing a heretic to execution. The victim was found in one Edward Wightman, of Burton-on-Trent, who is very unnecessarily accused of holding no less than nine damnable heresies, the names of which he had probably never heard till his trial. This poor man was judicially burnt at Litchfield, within a month of Legate (April 11), and people might well ask one another with horror and amazement what was coming upon the land. Was the religion of Christ to be turned into a curse and a disgrace to them instead of a blessing and a glory? Was the Church, to which they were constrained to belong, thus to cover itself with the foul stain of shedding innocent blood? That there was a very strong feeling throughout the

* Oxford has its Martyrs' memorial, a beautiful piece of masonry and sculpture. Why should not London? The alterations about to be made in Smithfield will scarcely be complete without some monument to mark the spot where Legate and the Protestant martyrs bravely died.

land upon the subject is evident, for Fuller acknowledges that this burning of heretics 'much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice! itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment.' The persecutors were, in fact, afraid to proceed in their new course of severity. The feelings of Englishmen could not be outraged safely beyond a certain point. 'King James politicly preferred that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison.' This commutation of sentence was, in fact, applied to the case of a Spanish Arian, who had at that time been *condemned to die*, and who, through policy or fear, was suffered instead to 'linger out his life in Newgate.' 'God,' says Fuller, 'may seem well pleased with this seasonable severity, for the fire quickly went out for want of fuel.' This horrible reflection, so different from the general spirit of the quaint old historian's remarks, may serve as an index to the way in which even good men *could* regard these cruel burnings, long ago. Not the less, however, ought we to put the stamp of our utmost reprobation upon them, for the spirit of persecution still lingers among us; and if we cannot, and would not, now assist at a bodily execution, yet party is still ready to trample down and crush its victim, and to bless God for the acts of its own malevolence."—I. pp. 205—207.

There is some difficulty about the date of Wightman's death. The writ bears date March 10th. (*A True Relation of the Commissions and Warrants*, &c. London, 1651, 4to.) Chamberlain, writing March 25th, says, "He was to be burnt as on Friday last, if he have not recanted." We know he did not recant, and the date assigned was March 20th; but the later date of April 11, mentioned by Mr. Perry, is that commonly given. Before parting with this subject, we would notice our historian's remark in relation to it, that Neal relates the burnings without a word of condemnation. The narrative of Neal, however, marks sufficiently to the careful reader his opinion of the indefensible proceedings. An express condemnation was not needed; for in an earlier part of his work he had spoken of the burning of heretics as springing from anti-christian tyranny and oppression, which the Papists learned from the Heathen emperors, and which Protestants copied from them. Neal adds, and Mr. Perry ought to know that his whole work is written in the spirit of the remark, "Conscience cannot be convinced by fines and imprisonments, or by fire and faggot; all attempts of this kind serve only to make men hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the name of *persecution*." (*History of the Puritans*, I. 6.)

Mr. Perry notices the remarkable increase of Puritanism in the early years of James's reign. The principle had been actively and increasingly at work from the time of the Reformation. The vigour and mercilessness of Elizabeth's rule repressed what they could not destroy, and under the feeble hand of her successor Puritanism immediately re-appeared. Mr. Perry would account for this fact by referring it partly to the cha-

racter of the Primate, Abbot, whose sympathies ran with the reforming party, and also to the hopes which that party cherished founded on the dispositions of Henry, the Heir-apparent to the throne. But the remark seems to us to disclose the historian's imperfect conception of the Puritan character. They were sorry politicians, and looked little to the favour of princes or to the aid of the mitre. They could not temporize; and whether an Abbot or a Laud swayed the Church, an Edward or an Elizabeth sat on the throne, they spoke out their convictions, and rather than conform to ceremonies and a discipline which they deemed not of God, they suffered in English prisons, or they faced the dangers of the Atlantic and the wilderness on its distant shores. Henry, the Prince of Wales, was indeed the hope and darling of the nation. So strong is their attachment to monarchy, that when the English people cannot love or respect the monarch, they turn to the prince, and transfer to him the loyal confidence which the occupant of the throne has destroyed. So it was in the darkest period of the history of England within our own memory, when Englishmen, disgusted with the frivolity and sensualism of the court of the Prince Regent, turned with hope and enthusiastic love to the Princess Charlotte, in whom they thought they saw the promise of a wise and patriotic Queen. Henry had declared that, when he came to the throne, his first care should be to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England. His father's policy was to harry them out of his kingdom. When the Prince died suddenly and mysteriously after a few days' illness, there were not wanting general surmises of poison, and a dreadful whisper here and there fell on the ear that the King himself had been a consenting party to its administration. When, a little more than a month after the burial of the Prince, the court of his father blazed with all the noisy festivities of Christmas, none of the customary excess retrenched, no check put on the rude and not always decent revelry, too much occasion was afforded for the remark, that the King mourned his son less than the people did their prince, and that the reason was, he had felt the Prince's virtues and popularity to be a reproach to himself.

"He" (Prince Henry) "used to joke his brother" (afterwards Charles I.) "about his precocious ecclesiastical tastes, and tell him, not over-kindly, that when he was King, Charles should be Archbishop of Canterbury, and then he would have a gown to hide his crooked legs."

How different might have been the history of England in the 17th century, if Prince Henry had survived his father, had surrounded himself with counsellors and ministers like Hampden, Pym and Elliott, and had made the Church of England sufficiently comprehensive to afford a comfortable resting-place to minds like those of Milton, Baxter, Vane, Owen and Goodwin!

The speculation is a tempting one; but we may still express a doubt whether eventually England would under such circumstances have gained its present proud position in respect to freedom and civilization. Costly and painful as was the national experience in the 17th century, it laid the foundations for the prosperity and glory of the 19th.

The relations which existed between James and his bishops suggest some thoughts not very favourable to the alliance of the Church with the State. What follows relates to the year 1614, when the King had to meet a new and a refractory Parliament.

"James was intensely unpopular. He opened the parliament with a conciliatory speech, but it produced no effect. The House of Commons resounded with complaints of interference with the liberty of election, and the claims of the King to grant monopolies and levy impositions. The spirit of indignation against the King was extended to some of his favourite divines. Dr. Harsenet, Bishop of Chichester, preaching before the Court on the text, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' tried to prove that the words meant that subjects were to give *back* that which was already Cæsar's by right, and caused great indignation in Parliament by his loyal theology. Dr. Neile, also, now Bishop of Lincoln, brought down a furious storm of wrath upon his head, by arguing in the House of Lords against a Conference with the Commons upon the subject of 'impositions,' and asserting that such a conference 'did strike, not at a branch, but at the root of the prerogative of the imperial crown.' Upon hearing of this speech, the Commons sent up a message to the Upper House to desire satisfaction, and the lords returned answer in due course, that the Lord Bishop of Lincoln had protested on his salvation, 'that he did not speak anything with any evil intention to the House of Commons, which he doth with all hearty duty and respect highly esteem, and had expressed, *with many tears*, his sorrow that his words had been so misconceived.' Still the Commons were not satisfied in either case, and it is asserted by Fuller, that it was mainly to stop proceedings against these two bishops by the Lower House, that the Parliament was hastily dissolved (June 7). The next morning, the most violent and refractory of the members were called before the council, and committed to the Tower."—I. pp. 224, 225.

The bishops suggested, in a spirit of servile gratitude, a benevolence from the clergy to the King.

"Doubtless the greater part of the clergy were ready to follow the example of the bishops, and to contribute liberally, but there were some to whom application was made, who were either unable or unwilling to do so. One of these was Mr. Edmund Peacham, Rector of Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire. This Mr. Peacham had been in trouble as early as 1603, for some alleged seditious words used by him in a sermon, and this year he was again in difficulties. Upon being asked what he would give to the benevolence, he answered, 'Silver and gold have I none, but I will give my prayers to the King.' For this he was thrown into the Tower, and his effects being searched, a sermon was found in his study, which was considered to be of a seditious and treasonable character. His case is thus given in the *State Trials*. 'Edmund

Peacham was indicted of treason, for divers treasonable passages in a sermon which was never preached, nor intended to be preached, but only set down in writings and found in his study; he was tried, and found guilty, but not executed.' In the conduct of this case, Sir Francis Bacon, as attorney-general, showed an unjust and tyrannical spirit, and a desire to gratify the King at any cost. Sir E. Coke, on the other hand, on this as on many other occasions, firmly defended the right. Peacham was examined 'before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture.' The King drew up with his own hand a paper against him, called 'The true state of the question,' in which he argued earnestly that he was guilty of treason, even if (as Peacham declared) he had intended to strike out the objectionable passages of the sermon before preaching it. The judges, however, still doubted as to a crime having been actually committed by a man writing down his private lucubrations in his own house; but the poor minister was tried at Taunton, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, from which fearful fate he was only saved by dying in prison."—I. pp. 226, 227.

Mr. Perry treats with the contempt it merits a recent effort to palliate the conduct of Bacon in this prosecution. Mr. Hepworth Dixon has opened some very foul cesspools in order to bespatter and blacken the character of Peacham, the unhappy victim. But had he been the unworthy man that he is represented, the facts would not have awaited this slow disclosure. Peacham was not indicted for his bad moral character, but for treason; and in its political bearings the personal character of the accused man was an altogether unimportant issue. Outrages on justice and liberty like that in the case of the rector of St. George, explain to us the temper of the Puritans and the statesmen who abetted their cause in the following reign.

Not many of James's bishops deserve our respect, but one who died in 1614 is an exception.

"This year died Rudde, Bishop of St. David's, who had honourably distinguished himself in the Convocation of 1604, by pleading for moderate views; and though not himself in any way sharing the scruples of the Nonconformists, stating their cause boldly and plainly. His straightforwardness on this occasion angered Bancroft, who commanded him, as President, to be silent; just as his simple plainness, at another time, had cost him the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He had preached before the Queen, and so much pleased her, that she told Archbishop Whitgift to inform him that after his death she would make him Archbishop. Perhaps Whitgift was not very well pleased at having his place disposed of before it was vacant; however, he told the Bishop of St. David's that the Queen liked his sermon mightily. Upon this Rudde replied that he was rather surprised, as the sermon was not one on which he had bestowed so much pains as many others which he had preached at Court. 'Oh!' said the primate, 'the Queen is grown weary of the vanities of wit and eloquence wherewith her youth was formerly affected, and plain sermons which come home to her heart please her the best.' Rudde remembered these words, when he was

next called on to preach, and taking for his text, Psalm xc. 12, 'O teach us to number our days,' &c., he discoursed on the infirmities of age, and personally applied his observations to the Queen, reminding her how age had furrowed her face and grizzled her hair. Certainly, if Whitgift did lay a trap for the preacher, by recommending plain speaking, the poor man proved an easy, unsuspecting victim. Elizabeth, who had an especial horror of being reminded of old age and death, was furious. She did not live to name another archbishop, but we may well believe that if she had, the Bishop of St. David's would not have stood much chance of the promotion."—I. pp. 229—231.

Mr. Perry gives in his 6th chapter a very meagre statement respecting the Church of Ireland, which in the early part of the 17th century stood on a somewhat different basis from that of the parent Church in England. The Irish articles, drawn up and adopted under the influence of Archbishop Usher, find little favour in his eyes, and he adopts the complaint of the fanatical Churchman Heylin, that "Protestant Churchmen were crucified between two thieves, the Papists and the Presbyterians." When an historian talks of "a one-sided compromise," he gives utterance to something resembling an Irish bull. "To dilute and combine creeds," he adds, "is a weak and worldly policy." What but this was the policy on which the Book of Common Prayer was constructed? We are indeed struck in reading these volumes with the thought, that it is now-a-days as little safe for a Churchman to write ecclesiastical history as it is for him to translate a book of Scripture and to publish a collection of Essays and Reviews. The censures passed in James's reign on preachers and writers meet with little approval from Mr. Perry; but his words might sometimes, without any violence, be applied in condemnation of those recent ecclesiastical prosecutions in which Mr. Heath, Dr. Rowland Williams and others are degraded or suspended for the crime of exercising the Protestant right of private judgment.

"We learn from the diaries of Laud and others, that it was thought a great thing to get a turn to preach before the King. It was not always a very safe office nevertheless. If the preacher wished to compass preferment, it would be expedient for him to discover beforehand in what theological phase his Majesty's opinions happened to be at the time, and to shape his discourse accordingly. Last year the King had sent down to Oxford directions considered as discouraging Calvinism. This year, a divine bold enough to advocate Arminian views in his presence, experiences the weight of his displeasure. Mr. Edward Sympson, Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, called by Fuller a very good scholar, preached before King James at Royston, and argued that the commission of any great sin extinguishes grace in a man for the time (*i. e.*, till repentance), and also maintained that St. Paul, in the seventh of Romans, is speaking of an *unregenerate* man. This was considered heresy. The two divinity professors at Cambridge were sent to for their opinions; and these being in favour of the Calvinist theory, poor Mr. Sympson was forced to recant. *This excessive tyranny not only*

*interfering to censure, but obliging a preacher to recant, is altogether reprehensible.* Mr. Sympson had, no doubt, conscientiously made up his mind after study, and he had the consent of the Catholic Church throughout the world, with very few exceptions, in favour of his view. *Yet is he forced to eat his words in this disgraceful way! This tyranny also was the more galling as it was so extremely capricious.* Nearly at the same time that Mr. Sympson was censured at Cambridge, Dr. Mocket, Warden of All Souls, was condemned at Oxford. Mr. Sympson incurred displeasure for advocating a truth lately taught by Arminius; Dr. Mocket had his book burnt because 'his extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived rather to be framed according to his own judgment, which inclined towards the Calvinian doctrines.' The worthy doctor had translated the English Prayer Book into Latin, and finding the homilies too long, had made extracts from them. To this he had added Jewel's *Apology*, Nowell's *Catechism*, and a treatise of his own, intending to construct a complete work, to give foreign churches a fair notion of the Church of England. But Dr. Mocket had committed an unpardonable wrong against 'a potent courtier.' The See of Winchester, then occupied by Dr. Montagu, which takes rank as the next after the See of London, had been said in his book to take rank after any whose bishop was a privy-councillor. Upon this the great prelate's indignation was aroused; and all the more readily, because at this time Montagu was on bad terms with Abbot, his former great friend, whose chaplain Dr. Mocket was. The King was applied to, the book publicly burnt, and (the worst part of the matter!) the doctor died of a broken heart. *Truly, in those days, the gift of composition was a dangerous one;* even to write without intent to preach (as Mr. Peacham did), might forfeit a man's life: to preach Arminianism was a crime in one place, to advocate Calvinism a heresy in another."—I. pp. 253—255.

But there were more distinguished victims of royal and ecclesiastical despotism in that age than Mr. Sympson and Dr. Mocket. Their names only survive as sufferers. And so it is with that unfortunate preacher John Trask, who for meddling with the Sabbatarian controversy evoked by the King's notable Lancashire proclamation known as the Book of Sports, was sentenced to be "set in the pillory at Westminster, *and whipt to the Fleet*, and there to remain prisoner." Humiliating as the duties of a Dean of the Court of Arches are at the present day, what must they have been to a Judge who cared either for justice or humanity in the days of the English *Solomon!* When Selden was prosecuted and made (in appearance at least) to recant the opinions put forth in his "History of Tithes," a grievous wrong was inflicted on literature as well as religious liberty. He had not, except in his undergraduate days at Oxford, "subscribed slave" to the articles and canons of the Church; and if for no other reason, yet for this, ought to have been free from censure, that no court of law and no European university could produce his superior in learning and in power of argument, and not many men could then be named who surpassed him in wisdom, in wit, and in an unaffected love of his country. After quoting the

words of Selden's "too submissive apology," our historian adds, "Thus opinion was interfered with in those days, and learned writers dragooned and schooled. Over-legislation and meddling were the prevailing folly of the times." Over-legislation has not at present much countenance, but meddling, dragooning and schooling learned writers is a prevalent folly now, as it was two centuries and a half ago. The chief difference is, that the meddling bigots of that age had some learning and wit,—qualities which will never be attributed to the persecutors of the vicar of Broad Chalk and the Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.

(To be continued.)

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## NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Your correspondent V. has done a favour to me, and doubtless to your readers, by his remarks upon my Notes. In some cases where he differs from me, the disagreement is not great, as between "Boaster" and "Arrogance," and between "coat with long sleeves" and "tunic of extremities." In some, the meaning of the passage must always remain doubtful; as when I propose to render Jeremiah xlvi. 16 and l. 16 by the "sword of the Greeks." But if there is any case in which the Septuagint may be supposed to be good authority, I should think that it was in such an historical point as this. But why your correspondent would put up with the Authorized Version in Genesis xlix. 10, "until Shiloh come," I am at a loss to understand. Had the writer said, "until Jerusalem come," we should all agree to change it into "until he come to Jerusalem;" as it is acknowledged that the Hebrew will bear either rendering. Shiloh, like Jerusalem, is known only as the name of a town, and quite unknown in the Bible as the name or title of a person. But again thanking your correspondent V., I venture to add a few more Notes of the same class, which may at least lead better Hebrew scholars than myself to examine the several questions.

Ezekiel xxxv. 15:

"Thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir,
And all Edom, even all of it."

Here the Authorized Version has the Greek word Idumea, instead of Edom. But the two words are by no means interchangeable, any more than the Franci and the French, or than the Angli and the English. When the Jews returned from captivity with new notions of purity of their race and of strict descent from their old aristocracy, they declared the inhabitants of that part of Judea which is to the south of Hebron to be

Edomites, or, as their Greek historian calls them, Idumeans, though they were probably the same people as those who, while the monarchy lasted, had formed part of the tribe of Judah. Thus the new name of Idumea came as far north as Hebron, while the old name of Edom had not reached quite to the end of the Dead Sea. King Herod was an Idumean; but we must not call him an Edomite. We must leave the word Idumea for the books of the Maccabees, and keep Edom for the Hebrew prophets, as the country took new limits with its new name.

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Isaiah vi. 9:

"Say to this people, Hearing they hear, but ye do not understand; and seeing they see, but ye do not perceive. The heart of this people is made fat, their ears are made heavy, and their eyes are shut."

In the Authorized Version this is a command from God that the prophet is to make the hearts of the people fat and their ears heavy, and this against the authority of the Septuagint and of the New Testament, where this passage is quoted three times, in two of which the meaning is clear, though not so much so in the third case.

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Ecclesiastes v. 6:

"Say not before the angel [or priest] that it was a sin of ignorance."

Here the Authorized Version has the word "error." This passage clearly shews the danger that arises to morality from admitting into the language of religion such words as "a sin of ignorance." They were introduced by an over-scrupulous conscience to mean a sin that might possibly have been committed unknown to the doer; but here we see that less scrupulous persons sometimes wished to class real faults under that head.

It is only in the later prophets Haggai and Malachi that the priest is called an angel or messenger; and this remark may help to fix the date of the book of Ecclesiastes. The preachers of the seven churches have the same title in the book of Revelation.

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Isaiah xi. 13:

"The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the persecutions of Judah shall cease. Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not persecute Ephraim."

The Authorized Version has, "The adversaries of Judah shall be cut off;" thus destroying the sense of the passage, which clearly points out the mutual return of goodwill between the two halves of the kingdom.

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Isaiah ix. 11:

"Therefore Jehovah will set up against him [Judah] the persecutions of Rezin, king of Syria."

The Authorized has, "the adversaries of Rezin," making the same mistake as in the former passage. The prophet threatens the Jews that they will be invaded by the Syrians.

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Joshua xii. 2:

"Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, ruled from Aroer, which is upon the bank of the river Arnon, both over the middle [or fork] of the river, and over half Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok."

By "the middle of the river," the Hebrew writers mean the whole of the valley or land watered by its tributary streams, as may be seen in chap. xiii. 9, where we read of "the city that is in the middle of the river." Our translators, not understanding this, have written, "he ruled from the middle of the river." This is one out of many instances that might be quoted to shew that our translators either did not possess good maps of the Holy Land or did not take the trouble to consult them. We will add one more instance.

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Joshua xviii. 14:

"The boundary was drawn thence, and turned round on its western side southward, from the hill that lieth before Beth-horon."

Our translators, instead of "its western side," here write, "the corner of the sea," although they must have been in possession of maps which might have told them, if they had looked at them, that the land of Benjamin which is here being described does not and cannot come within twenty miles of the sea. These geographical mistakes will be thought by many not very important; but they help to shew how very far we are at present from having a correct translation of the Old Testament.

S. S.

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## THE DISTRESS IN DUKINFIELD.

Sir,

Another month has passed since I last addressed you, and there is but little change in the scene. The tall chimneys are still guiltless of their accustomed cloud, or throwing it but fitfully and for no industrial end; the factory yard is deserted, unless it happen to be used as an occasional depôt for coal for gratuitous distribution; the early morning clatter of clogs on the pavement is unheard; and the afternoon porterage of the "baggin" (tea) to the seniors in the mill is no longer required of the little non-workers. The talk is still of Surats and sewing schools, and the primer in place of the oakum coil is still the chosen labour test of old and young. In the mean time the stream of charity has been pouring steadily in from all quarters; various and important public meetings have been held, and all that could be said in the way of encouragement has been said. Mr. Bright stands forth in

bold relief as the prophet of woe, warning the world that the day is far distant when a bit of American cotton will be regarded otherwise than as a curiosity, and shadowing a future of gloom and perplexity. The parochial system has broken down; the guardians, at their wits' ends, are threatened by their bankers, and in their turn are fiercely denouncing the supineness of the overseers. Rate follows rate with rapidly diminishing results; and the small-property owners, in blank dismay, are calculating how long a time will elapse before they in their turn must look to the union-house as their home.

The condition of the factory operatives is now one of comparative comfort; large stores of clothing have been distributed, and means have been afforded to purchase food in sufficient quantities to maintain health, though many of them are still feeling the effects of the long months of real pinching want, and a considerable period must elapse before they entirely lose the wan, starved look so distressingly apparent in many cottage homes a little while back. The guardians are answerable for this; and whilst great allowance must be made for men whose hearts are hardened by constant collision with trickery and fraud, it must be allowed that if they had dealt with the question, I do not say in a humane, but in an intelligent spirit,—if they had tried to do more than save themselves from the remonstrances of coroner's juries whilst recording the verdict, "Died of starvation," they would have been at the present moment in a much better financial position, by being able earlier to resort to the various means of supplementing rates, and they would have spared relief committees the pressure now put upon them, to be met only by large donations of clothing, the demoralizing effects of which will probably be felt for long years. There is a question of some moment which will have to be dealt with by the two great Committees* before long, and that is, how far they are content to allow moneys entrusted to them for the relief of destitute operatives to be in part confiscated by boards of guardians for the benefit of ratepayers. The attempt is now being made in certain quarters; the parochial allowance is withdrawn, and the voluntary fund, which ought to supplement the poor relief, is made to bear the whole burden. In Dukinfield, as I presume it is in other places, the greatest privation is found in the higher class of workpeople and amongst those just above them, whose habits and traditions prevent a recourse to public alms.

When this cotton famine shall have become a matter of history, and the incidents of this eventful period will have to be reviewed, there is no event which in this village will be regarded with more admiration, as there is none which has excited a deeper present feeling of gratitude, than the munificent collection at the Hackney Unitarian church. The blessings of many a home cheered by its influence will be given to distant generous friends during these winter months.

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* I am desirous of correcting a mistake in my second letter in reference to the scheme of relief carried out by the Manchester Committee. I stated that the amount of local subscriptions formed the basis of their relief, and that we were only entitled, according to their calculations, to £350 per month. I gave this on the authority of a member of their Committee, who had mistaken a scheme for discussion for a completed arrangement. They were naturally anxious that local effort should square with local wealth; and it will now, I imagine, be conceded that neither our Lord of the Manor nor our resident mill-owners have failed in their duty; and we on our part must acknowledge that we have been liberally dealt with by them.

The money sent by the young children of the Hackney school has been expended by Mrs. Aspland in the purchase of seventy-five useful neck mufflers for the younger children of the Old chapel schools. It will be a pretty and touching sight to witness the reception of these presents on Christmas-day. On a future occasion Mr. Bass and I will render to the Chapel Committee a full account of our trust.

From private sources we have received valuable aid, and it will be seen that one sympathizing friend from the North has repeated a very large donation, and a kind relative of hers has, in addition to numerous presents of clothing and money, sent a sum to be expended in tea for some elderly people in whose welfare I had interested her.

Of all the modes of relief which benevolence has suggested, I know of none which is likely to be attended with more enduring benefit than that to which I alluded in a former letter. I mentioned that a lady whose heart was deeply touched by our Northern distress had sent for six poor children, whose tender years had excluded them from industrial occupation, and whose unformed characters afforded opportunities of moral and domestic training. Since then she has sent for twelve more, and the little colony consists of eighteen. The reports of them are quite satisfactory; they correspond regularly with their parents; those of them who are too young to write letters dictate their communications to their kind benefactress, who forwards them through me. It is granted to but few to work out practical philanthropy thus; it demands a happy union of opportunity, capacity and will; it requires self-sacrifice; and it entails responsibilities very trying to all but the purely disinterested and strongly self-reliant natures.

> "The cords of love cannot be swept by all;
> Some strike them rudely, and the sound is hollow;
> Whilst if a gentler touch upon them fall,
> The sweetest music will as surely follow."

I anticipate the best results from the scheme of our distant friend. It is well known that the factory system involves the rupture of all domestic ties; the factory girl looks upon the mill as her home, her parents' house as a mere sleeping-place. She is entirely ignorant of domestic management; she feels none of the moral checks which home labour induces, and early feels and asserts an independence which too often results in a separation from her natural guardians whilst she is yet but a child in years. In very early youth to translate even for a few months one of these to a new sphere of life, where the ties of home are strong, where work at home forms part of the natural and inevitable routine of daily life, and where healthy social instincts are undisturbed by commercial necessities, may lay a solid foundation of character capable of preserving her from the future temptations which will surely surround her.

The following letter, communicated to the *Examiner*, will explain better than any words of mine the views and intentions of our friend.

### Lancashire Children.

Sir,—The great penalties of distress in disease and death falling everywhere most heavily upon the children, I would suggest that among other private devices for the relief and solace of Lancashire homes, the securing to young children, of distressed families, healthy and happy holidays during

this dark day of their parents' trial should be reckoned. My own experience in this direction may be of use to some of your readers.

I calculated that I could afford to provide for six during six months; and these were the conditions proposed: The children were to be entirely under my control; and in case of refractory behaviour, were to be at once sent back. The ages were to vary from twelve to four, and they were chosen so that no two elder girls who *might* combine against authority should be placed in the same house. They were to bring no clothing but that which they wore. In case of illness they were to be attended by my medical man, and their parents at once apprized of their state. If any casualty occurred, I charged myself with the funeral. A list shewing the parish of each child was to be sent, in order to avoid chance of difficulty at the end of the stipulated period as to their restoration. I think the authorities of the London and North-Western Railway ought to have given them a free passage, but they refused, and I paid the fares.

Besides the small reduction of numbers by the removal of these children, other good objects seemed attainable.

It was better to provide well for six than to help twenty to half starve.

Children being generally the first victims of want, by impoverished constitutions, if not by death, the care of them was most urgent.

By placing them in the houses of agricultural labourers, a means and an opportunity offered of producing kindly feelings between classes hitherto unacquainted. The peasants would be benefited by the payment given with the children, and the little girls would acquire habits of better domestic management than usually prevails among the manufacturing poor.

After six weeks' experiment I think all these objects will be answered. One girl of twelve is placed with a clean old widow, who has lately lost her sole companion by death, and would have been very lonely during the winter but for the arrival of this child. Her business after school is to learn from the widow how to clean a house, to wash, &c., and to read in the evening to the old woman (who cannot read). Three children, ages eleven, six and four, are placed with the wife of a labourer who has had more than a dozen of her own, and has still two small boys at home. There is proper accommodation for them in the cottage, and they will learn good management from this woman. One child is with an elderly woman, wife to a labourer, and another with the wife of an old man more than eighty years of age, who is maintained by his club. These people are delighted to have the cheering company of a young person.

All the children attend the day and Sunday schools. One of them was a little downcast for two days, but they are now as bright and happy as possible, calling the women who have charge of them "Mother," and much more rosy than when they came. The children of our school made the clothes required for the little strangers (who were almost ignorant of needlework) with great pleasure and alacrity, and they are now quite at home together. We have not had a dispute or difficulty, and I trust we shall so continue to the end. The parents of the children write very good and nice letters to their little ones, and for those children who cannot write themselves (which is all but one) I send whatever messages they like to dictate; so you may imagine we are excellent friends. I need scarcely specify that I have been very circumspect as to the character of the families where children are placed, to avoid the chance of their learning bad habits. I cannot but wish that every one within the circuit of 100 miles round Lancashire would take such a number of children as they could afford and place well—for a stipulated time. There is no expensive machinery necessary for this; thousands of people could provide for one, and the little things would be the better for the change. We have good homes for four more girls, whom I expect to-morrow, thanks to the generosity of a kind friend.

I am, &c. H. M.

I have the satisfaction of acknowledging the receipt of the following additional contributions:

*Donations of Money.*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| A distant Friend | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Kershaw Lumb, Esq., The Elms, Cheltenham (2nd Don.) | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Yorstoun, Allanton, Dumfries (2nd Don.) | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. James Heywood, for tea, &c. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| T. H. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mrs. Hammond | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| — Lister, Esq., Dalston | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Master Nettlefold | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| Miss Nettlefold, Highbury Park | 0 | 2 | 7½ |
| R. Cogan, Esq. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| The Unitarian Church, Hackney, being part of the proceeds of a Subscription and a Collection amounting to £434. 11*s.* 6*d.* | 244 | 14 | 0 |
| The further sum of £89. 17*s.* 6*d.* to be sent in four or five monthly payments. | | | |
| A Friend | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| The Ilminster Congregation, by Rev. E. Whitfield, paid to Miss Woolley for distribution amongst poor members of the Dukinfield congregation | 5 | 0 | 0 |

*Donations of Clothing.*

Lee Porcher Townshend, Esq., Wincham, Knutsford, a large and valuable parcel of clothing for both sexes.

H. Townshend, Esq., Warwick Place, Leamington, ditto.

Through Mr. J. Smedley, Sleaford, Lincolnshire, three parcels of clothing.

Parcels of clothing and materials from R. Marshall, Esq., Leicester—a large and valuable assortment from the Ladies' Committee, Birmingham, per Mrs. Kinnear, Edgbaston—one anonymous—have miscarried, but through the kindness of Mr. Stern, the Chairman of the Manchester R. F. Clothing Committee, will be replaced.

Mr. Dalby, Hackney, a parcel of clothing.

Mrs. Alfred Lawrence, Gloucester Gardens, and Miss Ridge, Hackney, a parcel of clothing, &c.

Miss Lewis and Sisters, Hackney, a second contribution of bonnets and clothing.

Mr. Griswold, Victoria Park Road, Hackney, a second contribution of clothing.

Miss Widdowson, Holdgate Hill, York, a parcel of clothing and materials.

James Heywood, Esq., has kindly sent a copy of the *Times* for the reading-room.

*Dukinfield, Dec.* 22, 1862. ALFRED ASPLAND.

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## DUKINFIELD DISTRESS.

SIR,

IF it be not too late for insertion in the Reformer of next month, I shall be much obliged by your kindly allowing me to express our heartfelt gratitude to all who have so nobly come forward to assist our suffering poor, through the kindness of our friends Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Aspland, who have most liberally dispensed useful and valuable articles of clothing and materials during the months from September until now; and it is delightful to see our scholars, teachers and poor, enabled through the kindness of friends at a distance to meet in the house of prayer in garments suited to the place and hour.

*Dukinfield Hall, Nov.* 27, 1862. S. OGDEN.

# CRITICAL NOTICES.

*English Nonconformity.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. 8vo. Pp. 486. London—Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1862.

This volume grew out of the deliberations of the Congregational Union in the autumn of 1861, when the question was how they as a branch of English Nonconformity could most usefully celebrate the Bicentenary year. It was resolved, amongst other modes of celebration, to issue a volume historically treating the Exodus of the *Two Thousand* clergy, in connection both with the earlier ecclesiastical annals of England and with modern Nonconformity. The execution of the work having been entrusted to Dr. Vaughan, this is the result; and we cheerfully testify to its general excellence and the prevailing justice and moderation of the spirit in which he has done his work. For practical purposes, it is perhaps to be regretted that it and other works proceeding from the same source, or having a similar purpose (such, for instance, as the volume of "Documents" relating to 1662), did not come out a twelvemonth ago. They address themselves now to a public rather sated with the subject and wearied with a succession of pamphlets and speeches relating to it, some of which are sadly beneath the occasion.

We do not find much that is novel either in fact or statement in this publication. Its author, indeed, has been so constantly before the public, and has so often had to treat the period of English history to which his work relates, that novelty is scarcely to be expected from him. Yet we do not doubt that a gleaning, if not a full harvest, may be yet obtained from state papers and contemporary documents.

The three divisions under which the present historical sketch is presented are, 1, The Religious Life in England before the Restoration; 2, The Confessors of 1662; 3, English Nonconformity since that date.

When treating of the period included in the first division, Dr. Vaughan is, as might be anticipated from his recorded opinions, the apologist of the Puritan and Commonwealth party. Here and there, owning as we do a general sympathy with him, we feel ourselves unable to concur in his views, and think that the violations of religious liberty committed by the victorious party have not received at his hands their adequate condemnation.

We cannot subscribe to the justice of his apology for the mode in which, under the Commonwealth, proceedings were conducted before the Committees against the Episcopalian clergy. It has been matter of complaint, and we think justly, that the sequestered clergy were denied proper means of defence, and especially that the right was refused them of meeting their accusers face to face. This is Dr. Vaughan's defence of the practice:

"Questions concerning clerical character and church livings belong to the court of Arches, where the course of proceeding was, and still is, by what is technically called *libel* and *affidavit*—that is, by a written statement of the charge, and written depositions in support of it. The charge, which has been presented in writing, and the written affidavits annexed to it, are placed in the hands of the defendant; and it rests with him to present his own statement, and his own affidavits, in reply, and then to leave the court to judge on the points at issue. It is true, the case of the royalist clergy was not taken before

an ecclesiastical court, but before a parliamentary committee. But this happened because the old ecclesiastical courts had ceased to exist, virtually if not formally, and it was only natural that the authority which had come into the place of those courts should conform itself in the main to their established mode of proceeding. It is only very recently that oral depositions have been admissible even in the Court of Chancery. Some of the accused clergy did reply to their opponents in the manner open to them, and with more or less success. But the great majority seem to have allowed judgment to go by default. We repeat, there may have been instances of hardship, but that the cases were decided after this manner was no hardship."—Pp. 112, 113.

We can well understand the difficulty of reforming the practice in a court of law which brings with it the sanction of centuries, and we would therefore admit the force of such a plea in reference to old courts. But for a Parliamentary Committee on Religion—a thing without precedent—to hamper itself with old rules, and to entrench itself against those whom its proceedings affected behind established usages, was, we submit, unreasonable and indefensible.

Dr. Vaughan is more successful in shewing that the state of society in England two centuries and a half ago in nothing differed more from that of the present day than in the low moral tone and degraded social position of the mass of the clergy. This was in part the result of the recklessly corrupt way in which, after the Reformation, the laity, from the Crown downwards, had stripped ecclesiastical offices of their rights and immunities. Now our clergy form, in the agricultural districts especially, a privileged (and often, we fear, an exclusive and tyrannical) class. Very different was the status of the working clergy in 1640. It is most unjust, therefore, to set down the suspensions and sequestrations which were made by the Committee for Plundered Ministers as the result of Puritan intolerance and injustice. They were intolerant of bad morals and the graceless neglect of all clerical duty. We quote two passages from Dr. Vaughan's notes bearing on this subject.

"Wren, bishop of Norwich, in defending himself against the charge of having suspended some sixty clergymen in little more than two years, alleged that many had not been so dealt with on account of Nonconformity, but for other reasons. One, his lordship describes as having been a tailor, another a weaver, another a broken-down tradesman, another a country apothecary, &c. One vicar had not been seen on his cure for seventeen years; and one incumbent had received the income from his charge the last twenty years, and had never taken orders; and the names of *fourteen* clergymen are given as those of men who were expelled on the ground of 'their debauched and scandalous courses.'"—P. 116.

"In Dr. Williams's Library in Redcross-street, there is a paper intitled '*Lamentable Estate of the Ministers in Staffordshire.*' It is without date, but may be assigned to some time within the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth. It presents a complete list of the parishes in Staffordshire, with the names and characters of the clergymen occupying them. The summary of the document is, that 'there be 118 congregations which have no preacher, neither have had (for the most) now more than forty years; there be eighteen congregations served by laymen; by scandalous, forty.' The description of the scandalous class is quite to the effect of the account in the Kent register. So it was, no doubt, over England. In the same collection there is another paper with the title, *View of the State of the Churches in Cornwall.* In this account, which has all the appearance of a report prepared under official direction, a favourable account of a clergyman's character is the exception: as a rule, they are described as debauched, drunken, profane, gamesters, and the like. With

this manuscript is another, consisting of a petition from the people of Cornwall to the parliament 'gathered together by the queen's majesty's appointment,' &c., in which the petitioners say, 'We have about eight score churches, the greatest part of which is supplied by men who, through their ignorance and negligence, are guilty of the sin of sins—soul murder.' Then follows the mention of the same string of vices. Some are 'drunkards, some quarrellers, some spotted with whoredom, and some with more loathsome and abominable crimes than those.' Documents of this nature were sent to the privy council from various counties in England, in 1584 and in 1586. According to Neal (cc. vii. viii.), the effect of these representations was to show, that nearly thirty years after the accession of Elizabeth, there were not more than about 2,000 preachers to nearly 10,000 parishes. We have no reason to suppose that the state of things in this respect was at all improved under James, and little, if at all, under Charles. The truth is, these princes all looked on popular preaching with apprehension, and discountenanced it. Two or three preachers for a county, said Elizabeth, is enough; let the rest read the homilies. The effect is seen, not only in the spiritual destitution among the people, but in the character of the clergy."—Pp. 117, 118.

On the subject of the numbers of the Episcopalian party ejected during the Commonwealth, Dr. Vaughan had made himself, by the fulness with which he has discussed it and the reasonableness of his statements, an authority. He comes to the conclusion that the clergy who were permanently sequestered from the parishes of England did not amount to more than about a thousand. Walker's imaginary and party estimate of 6000 is on the face of it improbable. That number would have comprehended two-thirds of the entire clergy of England. Had that been the case, it would have been impossible to fill up at once all the empty pulpits. We may surely take the statement of Richard Baxter, who told Bishop Morley at the Savoy, that he knew of not a single instance in which the parishioners had been during the Commonwealth without any minister. Well might the honest Nonconformist tell the Bishop, "therefore he knew there were not MANY such in England."

Dr. Vaughan demolishes the frivolous reasonings of the *Quarterly Review* (noticed at the time in our pages) adduced to discredit his estimate of the number of the sequestered clergy. His new arguments were in part anticipated by us.

The more intolerant measures of Parliament, which Dr. Vaughan does not justify, were due to the bad influence of the Scots. After quoting the provisions of the iniquitous Act against blasphemy and heresy in 1648, Dr. Vaughan remarks:

"It will be seen that this act supposes the existence, and open avowal, of Atheism and Deism, of Unitarianism and Arminianism, and couples the licence of the Antinomian with the mysticism of the Quakers. In 1648, the great remedy of the parliament, it seems, against these errors of the times, consisted in the staff of the constable, the miseries of a prison cell, and the use of the hangman. It is manifest that the Long Parliament is not improving in wisdom or temper, and its days are not likely to be many."—P. 134.

The first book or division of his work concludes with a very spirited picture of the grand outburst of the nation which the 17th century witnessed in England's military greatness, maritime power, national industry and intellectual life.

In the second division of his work, Dr. Vaughan describes the causes of the Restoration, and gives in detail all the proceedings affecting the

Nonconformist party up to the passing of the Act of Uniformity. It is worth remarking, that the central figure in the elaborate historical picture with which Dr. Vaughan has filled his canvas, is not his own Dr. John Owen, but the moderate Presbyterian, Richard Baxter.

The approach of the day of Exodus is well described.

"When the 17th of August came, nearly two thousand clergymen addressed their flocks for the last time. In London, and in other large cities, the ministers who did not feel at liberty to conform might confer together, and resolve conjointly on the course to be taken. But the great majority, scattered through the distant parishes of England, knew little of the encouragement derived from such deliberations. The decision, which we must suppose was ultimately in all instances a decision of the individual conscience, was left to be especially of that nature in such cases. We can imagine, though not adequately, the struggle between so many influences which seemed to plead on the side of conformity, and the convictions which forbade it. How much they must forego! How much they must consent to bear! Social influence, the venerable church, the village home, the rural path, so full of pleasant memories, and, above all, the flock, consisting of minds whose thought the pastor had educated, whose moral and spiritual susceptibilities he had quickened and nurtured—from all these there must now be separation. And in the place of all this came the prospect of silent Sabbaths, of years of homelessness, of strange scenes and strange faces, of domestic poverty, of public reproach, and of life passing away with little of the fruit which, in the estimation of such men, can alone give to life a sweetness and value."—Pp. 379, 380.

"The morning of the Lord's-day before the day of St. Bartholomew, the streets of many a city, and the village roads and meadow paths leading to many a parish church, are trodden by men and women, and by youth and age, on whose features a stranger might observe a strange cast of thoughtfulness and sorrow. Those Puritan people have been always distinguishable from other people by their simpler costume and their graver aspect, but to-day they seem to be more than ever a people moving apart, and living to ideas and feelings of their own. In fact, the long-dreaded day has come, in which these pious men and women are to see their pastors where they have been long wont to see them for the last time. The voice which in prayer has so often led their spirit upwards from the earthly sanctuary to the gate of heaven, is to be heard in that sacred place once more, and only once. The lips from which instruction, and a living influence, had so often come to the perplexed and seeking spirit, are to speak once more where they have so often spoken, and only once. The mind which has long been as a shield in danger, a strength in weakness, and a comfort in sorrow to so many minds, is about to be severed from that benign relationship. The shepherd is smitten, and whether the sheep are to be scattered, or to be gathered anew by some stranger hand, no one knows. The preachers, too, on that day—men whose principle and passion it has been to impart and nourish that divine life in other spirits which has been breathed by a divine power into their own—have to look once more from the pulpit on their flock, and only once. Unfriendly eyes are upon them; unfriendly ears are open to their words. All that may be construed uncharitably will be so construed. To be self-possessed at such time is difficult, and not to be self-possessed must be to fail in the things becoming such men at such a crisis.

"Men who expected the Nonconformist pulpits to be charged with invective and bitterness on that day were disappointed. More than one volume of the sermons then preached is extant, and the general tone of the discourses is such as an apostolic spirit only could have dictated."—Pp. 382, 383.

"The evening of the day on which nearly two thousand ministers addressed themselves as above to their several congregations, must have been memorable in the homes of many a Nonconformist pastor, and of many a Noncon-

formist family. The shadows of that summer night fell upon those homes as they had often fallen, but never before to bring upon them so general a sadness. The evening psalm, we think, must have been set to notes of more than usual pathos; and the evening prayer, as it passed from the lips which offered it, must have been followed by tears and sobs from many a wife and mother, as the little ones clung about her, wondering what this new trouble could mean. It was a night of weeping, be sure of it."—P. 388.

Dr. Vaughan passes in review the different classes of men who made up in 1662 the 7000 conforming clergy. His enumeration is, on the whole, fair and good. But why does he name *Stillingfleet* among the Latitudinarian conformists? The only reason we can conjecture is, that he was the author of the Irenicum, a plea for Church peace, on the ground that the New Testament prescribes no particular form of church government. But Dr. Vaughan will not forget that this work appeared before the Restoration, and that its chief position was afterwards retracted by him. He then became a very intolerant writer equally against Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists. At last, his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him. If Dr. Vaughan seriously proposes placing Stillingfleet among the English Latitudinarians, we must demur to the propriety of his being named in conjunction with More, Cudworth and Tillotson. They indeed "shed an enduring lustre" on their party. But he will be a bold polemic who says that the tritheistic Stillingfleet, the victim of South's combined argument and wit, shed "lustre" on any party. Perhaps Stillingfleet was a *lapsus plumæ* for Chillingworth.

After speaking of the reasonings by which many of the clergy nerved their hand to subscribe, Dr. Vaughan adds this reflection:

"Nothing could be more palpable than the contradiction between subscription as it should have been according to law, and as it was in reality. Hundreds of consciences, accordingly, of the more flexible description, passed the prescribed ordeal. But there were nearly two thousand men among the clergy of that day to whom words had meaning, and who found themselves shut up, by the honest meaning of words, to the necessity of becoming Nonconformists. It becomes us to look at this spectacle, exhibiting terms of conformity so literal and rigid on the one side, and modes of subscription so lax and meaningless on the other. The extent to which this nation has been demoralized by the policy which placed her clergy in such circumstances, exposing their integrity in the gravest matters of their vocation to so much unavoidable suspicion, the Omniscient only can know."—Pp. 395, 396.

Dr. Vaughan's treatment of Nonconformist history during the last two centuries is inconveniently brief, occupying little more than 80 pages, of which only half-a-dozen are given to the Nonconformists of the last century and a half. When speaking of the Indulgence of 1672, Dr. Vaughan states a fact respecting the number of those who availed themselves of it, which surely ought to have some weight in deciding the number of the ejected clergy.

"From manuscripts existing in the Privy Council Office, we learn that more than three thousand applications were promptly made from different parts of the kingdom for licences to erect or use edifices for public worship. When it is remembered that there were Nonconformists who scrupled to make any such application, these numbers will be felt as warranting the conclusion, that after twelve years of relentless persecution, the conscientiousness and piety of the land must have been found largely among the dissenters. It was

at this juncture that the Presbyterians and Independents instituted the weekly lecture at Pinners' Hall, which did not come to an end before 1695.

"The enemies of the Nonconformists taunted them with inconsistency. Old parliamentarians, was the cry, taking refuge under a stretch of prerogative! But the retort was not difficult. Old cavaliers, was the answer, making light of royalty, and descending to oppose the bigotry of a parliament to the humanity of a king! We admit, said the dissenters, that the scale has turned, but more in appearance than in reality. We have always taken sides with right and liberty, and have left it to others to take sides for the opposite reasons."—P. 436.

When he comes down to the last century, Dr. Vaughan has necessarily to allude to the decline of orthodoxy amongst the Presbyterian ministers of this country, and their consequent "loss of numbers and loss of power. To run before the age entails doubtless a penalty even more heavy than the retribution which awaits those who fall behind their age. But before the account can be settled, and it can be decided to whom the balance of honour is due, the future must be reckoned. Dr. Vaughan claims, and justly, for many of the living Nonconformists of England, the credit of belonging to that venerable genealogical tree of which the Puritans contributed the massive trunk. The "tree still grows and will grow. Men like Watts and Doddridge were to do much towards linking the faith and feeling of the past with the present." Then follows a passage in which Unitarians are spoken of in a kindly and generous manner:

"Would we could induce the living representatives of those changed Presbyterians to look wisely at what has followed from that change, and to reconsider their ways. There are no men living in whom there is a finer sense of truthfulness and honour, than in our English Unitarians. Nor is there any religious body who has to pay so great a price as the cost of following their convictions."—P. 467.

While thanking one, who has not always written or spoken thus, for unexpected words of kindness, we must remark, that much as Unitarians may regret their being debarred by theological prejudice from influence and usefulness open to other Nonconformists, they are content to pay the price necessary to secure for themselves peace of conscience, and for those whom they instruct religious truth and the means of progress.

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*Distress in the Manufacturing Districts. A Sermon preached on Sunday, 7th December*, 1862, *in Renshaw-Street Chapel, Liverpool.* By John Hamilton Thom. Pp. 22. London—Whitfield.

We are pleased, for more reasons than one, to receive this able and very interesting Sermon. It is right that the public should have the opportunity of reading an appeal to one of our congregations which was so munificently answered, producing the largest collection, we suppose, ever gathered in a Unitarian chapel for a purely charitable purpose. Successful as Mr. Thom's eloquent appeal was in rousing his friends to a really noble exercise of charity, his Sermon proves to be no mere appeal to feeling which will not bear calm investigation in the closet. It is full of political and economical wisdom, and deals honestly, and at the same time kindly, with all classes affected by the prevalent distress.

In speaking of other modes in which the difficulties of the crisis might have been met, Mr. Thom remarks on the responsibility which

now devolves on a nation that has deliberately and almost unanimously decided that the required funds shall not pass through the hands of the tax-gatherer, but shall be supplied by voluntary charity. The English people are now, in his view, "bound to keep flowing this stream of Charity on the confidence of which the people's lives are now committed, so long as this can be done with a due regard to every other righteous claim, and in any case till a securer method has time to take its place, if this should fail. It would be very idle sentiment to create a trust in a Voluntary Benevolence that afterwards would not bear the strain it had invited, and let the weight of Misery fall unrelieved even for a single day. And it will be a very noble victory of right sentiment if, as all the signs would indicate, Voluntary Benevolence, having taken up this burden, shall justify itself, and bear it unto the end."

We will not affect to give an analysis of the Sermon, but would rather commend it in its integrity to our readers' careful regard, contenting ourselves with extracting the passage in which the preacher refers to other wants beyond food, clothing and fuel, which must be supplied.

"When, in what is the nearest parallel to this trial, ships' crews are detained in Arctic regions, long before any needful provision has disappeared there comes a sinking of the heart, a fatal lowering of the animal spirits, and they are the true savers of life, real Captains among men, who can then apply some stimulus, not to the Body, but to the Mind. In this long struggle, hoping against hope, watching vacant hours wearily pass, watching vacant, sorrowful faces,—no mere patience, or negative endurance, will supply the necessary life-power: but some fresh spiritual interest will do so—some flow of animated feeling—some newly excited consciousness of human kindness and fraternal good-will—some mental exercise, which, to those who are unaccustomed to it, is as hard and as healthful work as bodily labour. Instruction —Education, which is a different thing, the springing into life of unknown powers—some mind or heart interest—if it were possible, some newly awakened deeper feeling of the value of existence—Employment, if only for an hour or two a day, then at a fair wage per hour, and not with the degradation of underpaid labour; all these are as needful, especially as against the depression that invites Disease, as Food, Clothing and Fire. Schools, then, in all their forms, for Men and Women, for Girls and Boys, for Work or Learning— Social Meetings—lectures and discussion—their gatherings together for reading and conversation, for hearing the Bible, for singing their religious hymns in their own sweet music, with the memories of happier days now wistfully regarded, and a sense of the Goodness that was of old freshly coming to their hearts—are among the strongest weapons with which to fight this battle, and turn its Evil into Good; and all who are wisely devoted to these vital efforts deserve a liberal support."—Pp. 18, 19.

One good result of the recent suffering will be the teaching the great lesson of human brotherhood. Were it possible in a cheap edition to sow this fine Sermon broadcast over the manufacturing district, it is probable that in some of the best minds of the thoughtful working men of Lancashire and Cheshire wise thoughts and kind feelings would arise, the beneficial effects of which would long survive the occasion.

# OBITUARY.

REV. FRANK E. BARNARD.

The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association records the death of this benevolent and earnest minister. He was buried on All-Saints-day, Nov. 1, and a funeral address was pronounced in the Rev. Nathaniel Hall's church in Dorchester. From some extracts we make, it will be seen that Mr. Barnard died a martyr to Christian benevolence, teaching the negroes at Port Royal "how to become men in character and life."

"Frank Barnard was so full of interest in spiritual things, that it became in him enthusiasm. He was, no doubt, an enthusiast. In saying this, I know that many will think I am finding fault with him. With many enthusiasm is equivalent to extravagance, and an enthusiast is a man in whom feeling has dethroned judgment; in whom excessive interest in one object has destroyed all common sense. Enthusiasm, to many, seems almost the same as insanity. But I believe there is a mistake in this. Enthusiasm is often the highest sanity. Devotion to one interest, to one idea, to the neglect of others, is often the highest wisdom. Martha thought Mary an enthusiast; and she was an enthusiast, because she neglected for a time the common work of life, to devote herself totally to the great opportunity which might never come again. But when Christ comes into the house or into the soul, then it is well to leave all other ideas for one idea; then enthusiasm is wisdom. Our Saviour commends this devotion to one idea, and says, 'One thing is needful.' No great work can be accomplished without such enthusiasm; no great invention was ever made until the inventor became an enthusiast. Columbus was an enthusiast about the world beyond the setting sun; Martin Luther was an enthusiast for reform; Rafaelle was an enthusiast in art; Milton, in poetry. And when we come to the highest of themes and subjects, we remember who it was of whom it was declared, 'He has a devil, and is mad;' who it was to whom the cool, worldly Roman said, 'Thou art beside thyself.' To the lower sanity, busy with the things of this life, the higher sanity, devoted to eternal truth, always seems a little insane.

"Now, our friend Barnard was an enthusiast, but in the better sense. To him, the things unseen seemed more important than the things seen: he devoted his life, therefore, to these. Brought up to business, and a good business man, he chose to devote himself to the work of the Christian ministry. Into the preparation for this work he carried his enthusiasm. He belonged, at one time, to a Bible-class of which I had charge; but he went too fast for us,—studied the whole Bible while we were studying a single book, and left us all far behind. Then in his preparation for the ministry, he did what few students of theology ever do, and yet what would be of great use to them,—he added practical experience to book-learning. He became a missionary, travelled, preached everywhere, exhorted, made the acquaintance of people of all sects and creeds; and, while holding firmly to his own views of Christianity, sympathized with all that was good and true in theirs. In this way, in a short time, he gained great experience. His activity was unbounded; and he came and went, studied and preached, in a way to make most of us ashamed of our indolence.

"When the United-States troops took possession of the Port-Royal islands belonging to South Carolina, some eight or ten thousand negroes were found there, whose masters had run away from them. Mr. Chase sent a gentleman of Milton to examine into their condition, and report to him. He recommended that teachers should be sent to them, to instruct them and superintend their labours. An educational commission was established: teachers, male and female, volunteered to go, receiving no compensation for their services, and only transportation and rations. Our very best young men and young women seized this opportunity of serving their race. While some went to the battle to lay down their lives there for their country, others gave themselves to this work, certainly no less noble and Christian. Barnard was one of the first to seek to go. A race, long oppressed and degraded, was asking for light: he gladly went to give it to them. Amid the dreadful storm of war which desolates our land, this mission of mercy to the poor negroes of Port Royal will be recorded in history as a spot of halcyon beauty and calm. The Christianity which prompted this mission to the degraded and forlorn is of the truest and noblest kind. Of it may be said what Whittier says of Nature:

'Yet, calm and patient, Nature keeps
Her ancient promise well,
Though o'er her bloom and greenness sweeps
The battle's breath of hell.

'Still, in the cannon's pause, we hear
Her sweet thanksgiving-psalm;
Too near to God for doubt or fear,
She shares the eternal calm.'

"I know that there are those who have opposed and ridiculed this movement to teach the negroes: there are always some unhappy persons, whom Providence seems to send into the world to throw doubt and discouragement upon each generous enterprize. But surely no serious Christian man or woman can question the Christianity of this mission. The armies of the United States had broken the chains of these slaves. Unaccustomed to freedom, they needed guidance, instruction, superintendence. They asked for it; and Massachusetts said to Carolina, 'You have enslaved the bodies and souls of these blacks: we will free both. As it is your appointed task to illustrate the instincts of slavery, it shall be ours to shew what belongs to freedom. Those whom you have degraded we will elevate. We will send our sons and daughters to lead them to truth and to God.'

"Frank Barnard gave himself joyfully to this work. He was at once, to these freedmen, teacher, superintendent, and preacher. He taught them in the school; he superintended their labour in the field; he preached to them on the Lord's-day. Kindness opened their dusky hearts, and his Christian good-will to them unfolded all their better nature. They loved him with devoted love, the first white man they had seen who really seemed to care for them; and when, worn out with fatigue and countless cares, his body sank in disease, their prayers rose day and night for his recovery. And when the wisdom of God saw fit to remove him; when this warm heart ceased to beat, and this generous soul ascended to its native heaven,—all night long these affectionate creatures surrounded the house in which the cold clay of their benefactor was lying; all night long their prayers and hymns rose to God; and their sobs and tears through the dewy night of Carolina, under the silent stars, bore witness to the good work he had done for them. What more touching tribute could we ask for our friend than this? What more could we desire for ourselves than such faithful tears, such loving regrets, from those whom we have helped, comforted and saved?"

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Nov. 13, at the Brades, Oldbury, HARRY PROBERT, aged four months, son of the Rev. Henry M'KEAN.

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Nov. 16, at her residence, Duchess Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, ANN, widow of the late Richard PHILLIPS, F.R.S., of London, in the 76th year of her age.

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Nov. 18, at her residence, Old Road, Failsworth, much lamented by her friends, ANN ARMITAGE, in the 77th year of her age. She was the oldest member in connection with the Unitarian congregation, Dob Lane, Failsworth, having attended that place of worship from a child.

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Nov. 19, at Leicester, EMMA, the youngest daughter of Charles HOLLINS, formerly of Nottingham.

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Nov. 23, at Sheerness, in her 4th year, ANN CLEMENTINA, eldest daughter of Mr. Walton TENNANT, formerly of this city.

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Nov. 25, at Humberstone, in the 84th year of his age, THOMAS PAGET, Esq., formerly one of the Representatives in Parliament for the county of Leicester.

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Nov. 25, THOMAS CLARK, Sen., aged 59 years, formerly of Newbury, Berks, and twenty-five years the honoured master of Baker, Billing and Crow's Gift School, Cow Lane, Coventry.

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Nov. 26, at her residence, Langham Place, Swinton, in the 83rd year of her age, ANN COLLIER, much lamented by her friends. She was the oldest member in connection with the Unitarian congregation, Monton, having attended that place of worship from a child.

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Nov. 27, at Crediton, THOMAS MADGE, Esq., aged 77, for many years a zealous and consistent supporter and worshiper of the Bowden-Hill chapel.

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Nov. 29, at Stockwell-Park House, SARAH, the beloved wife of William SHAKSPEARE, Esq.

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Nov. 29, at his residence, Church Street, Padiham, aged 59 years, JOHN BERTWISTLE. He was much respected, and is greatly lamented by his friends. For many long years he laboured in the Sabbath-school.

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Dec. 1, in the 76th year of his age, Mr. JOHN THOMPSON, of Coseley, much respected by his friends.

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Dec. 1, at Everton, near Liverpool, aged 73 years, Miss SUSANNA ANDREWS HIBBERT, only daughter of the late Rev. Nathaniel Hibbert, of Rivington.

Dec. 2, at Dublin, aged 80 years, MARY, widow of the late Rev. Dr. ARMSTRONG, pastor of the Unitarian congregation of Strand Street, in that city.

Dec. 13, of fever, at the University College Hospital, London (where he was studying), WILLIAM PHILIPPS BINGLEY, aged 23 years, eldest son of Dr. Bingley, Whitby Hall, and grandson of the late Nathaniel Philipps, D.D., of Sheffield.

Dec. 23, at his house, 9, Burton Crescent, London, JESSE MIDDLETON, Esq., in the 84th year of his age. He was the last member of his family, having not long survived his sisters, Miss Middleton and the late Mrs. Aspland. His life was peaceful and marked by few events. His character was simple and upright. Early in life he adopted, together with his sisters, the doctrines of Unitarian Christianity, and they satisfied and sustained him to his last hour. He was for more than half a century a worshiper at Essex-Street chapel in the morning, and in the evening at Portland-Street chapel from the time of its erection (towards which he was a contributor) until the cessation of evening worship in that place. He felt and regretted the deprivation of the second service, being a most regular attendant on public worship. He leaves a widow, who after an union of more than half a century affectionately cherishes his memory.

# MARRIAGES.

Nov. 3, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. David Griffith, Mr. JOHN HARRIS DOIDGE to Miss MARY JANE LOVIS, both of Tavistock.

Nov. 13, at the First Presbyterian church, Rosemary Street, by Rev. J. Scott Porter, WILLIAM EMILIUS, third son of the late David William PRAEGER, the Hague, to MARIA, eldest daughter of Robert PATTERSON, College Square North, Belfast.

Nov. 19, at the General Baptist chapel, Adrian Street, Dover, by Rev. T. B. W. Briggs, SEPTIMUS GREGE, Esq., of 11, Belgrave Street, Euston Road, London, to ELIZA, third daughter of Mr. Edw. PHILPOTT, of 153, Snargate Street, Dover.

Nov. 23, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. David Griffith, Mr. FRANCIS R. ROWE to Miss ELIZABETH B. BICKLE, both of Tavistock.

Nov. 26, at the Church of the Messiah, Birmingham, by Rev. S. Bache, JOSEPH HENRY ROBINSON, Esq., fourth son of Wm. Fothergill Robinson, Esq., Holmfield, Aigburth, Liverpool, to FRANCES CLARA, eldest daughter of Francis HOLLINS, Esq., of Olive Mount, near Liverpool.

Nov. 27, at Rosslyn-Hill chapel, Hampstead, by Rev. Dr. Sadler, Mr. RICHARD HUMPHREYS, of Upper Belsize Terrace, to ELLEN, eldest daughter of Mr. M. CARR, of St. John's Wood.

Nov. 27, at Royston, Herts, by Rev. Richard Shaen, M.A., EDMUND HERBERT, eldest son of Edmund GRUNDY, Esq., of Greenhill, Cheetham Hill, near Manchester, to CAMILLA MARY, eldest daughter of Frederick Nash FORDHAM, Esq., of the Bank House, Royston.

Dec. 8, at Hyde chapel, Gee Cross, by Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., Mr. EDWARD CALVERT, of Manchester, to CAROLINE ELIZABETH, only daughter of the late Rev. Samuel ALLARD, of Stockport.

Dec. 9, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. David Griffith, Mr. GEO. PARKER, of Tavistock, to ELIZABETH, widow of the late Mr. SHEARS, Moretonhampstead, Devon.

Dec. 16, at the Unitarian church, Hackney, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., CHARLES EMPSON, only son of Mr. Charles GREEN, of Hackney, to ELIZABETH MARY, only daughter of the late John Hargrave STEVENS, Esq., of Hammersmith.

Dec. 18, at Upper chapel, Sheffield, by Rev. Brooke Herford, Mr. CHARLES JAMES FOX, of New Church Street, Sheffield, to SARAH JANE, daughter of Mr. G. HAGUE, Sheffield.

Dec. 24, at the Unitarian church, Newhall Hill, Birmingham, by Mr. J. Green, Mr. JOB ROPER, son of Mr. James Roper, Palmer Place, Lodge Road, to Miss ANN FLOYD, daughter of Mr. John Floyd, New John Street West.